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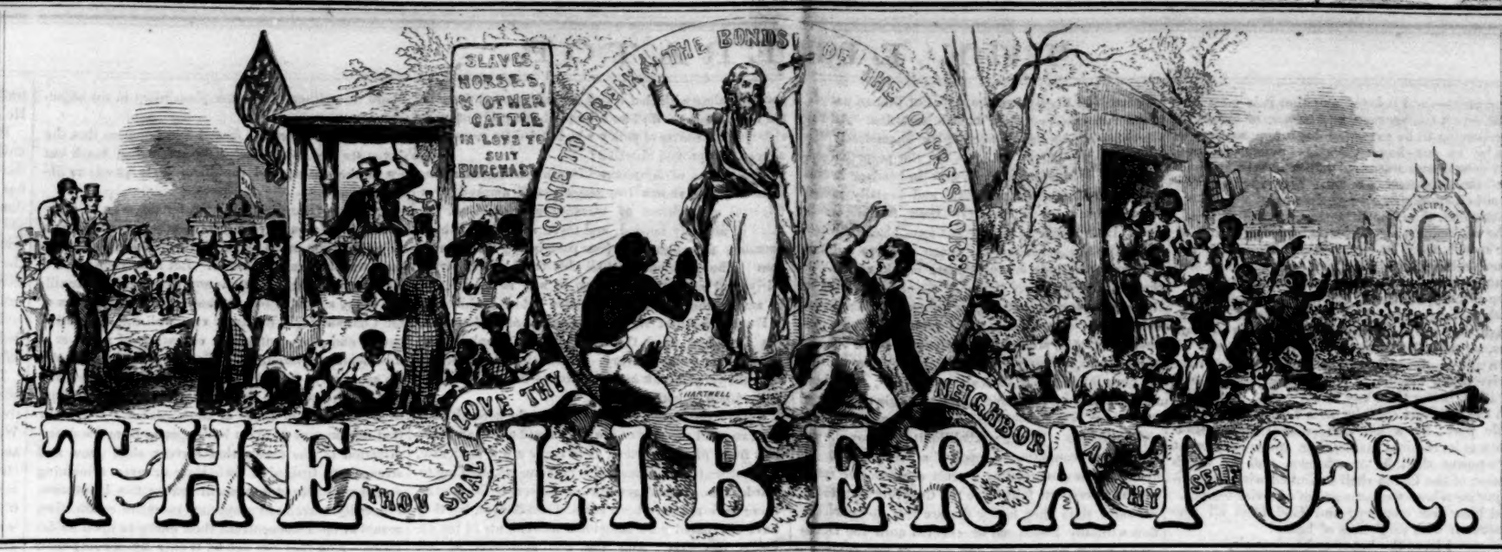
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE TO LOVE TO SUIT PURCHASE
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
HARTWELL
THOU SHALT LOVE THY
NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

ABOLITIONISM OVERT TREASON.

The best minds of the country have decided that the doctrine of State Sovereignty is not more pestiferous to the perpetuity of the Republic than Abolitionism. The former is the parent of secession; the latter helped the growth of secession by its loud fanaticism. It has openly taught that the "Constitution is a league with hell," and at the present moment it is actively engaged in the dissemination of principles which are eminently subversive of the nation. In point of ideas, Abolitionism is much worse than secession. The excess of guilt in the latter consists in its eruption into bloody rebellion. Had secession been met by armed force when it was in the first stages, the rebellion had ended long since; and it may well be apprehended that the negro-worshippers will yet merit having a similar observation made of them. They are fanatical enough for any violence. A John Brown or a John of Leyden could at once lead them into revolution against the Government for the emancipation of the black. If Fremont had not been promptly recalled, his friends of the North would, probably, have gone to a most unfortunate excess. The conduct of Phelps and Lane filled the Abolitionists with the utmost intemperateness of sentiment; and the late insensate proclamation of Hunter has made them act with a spirit of hatred to the Union that will not easily subside. Here are public facts. In presence of them, what should be done with the multitude they animate? The case needs military legislation. It needed it a long period ago. If it come not, there will be an open abolition rebellion in the North. Fanaticism soon takes up arms. The *Pilot* has some inattentive readers, who interpret its articles against the Abolitionists as exceedingly severe. We acknowledge much of the imputation; but our antagonism has its cause in respect for the Constitution of the United States; and we have never said anything against the fanatics at issue that was not deserved, and that was not a duty. Enemies to the wholeness of the Republic are they. Traitors they undoubtedly are. If they be checked not, the country will smart under the consequence. There can be no real peace until they are silenced. What was Governor Andrew's response to the President but a refusal to give soldiers to the Union—but an Abolition proclamation that Hunter should be maintained? The "Confederacy" is a fiction. Abolitionism is not. It is every man's duty to oppose it.—*Boston Pilot.*

THE EMANCIPATION ELEMENT.

It is unhappy for our country, that such an atrocious course as that of the vulgar Chandler, of Michigan, or of the radicals in general, should be tolerated for a moment by any friend to President Lincoln. If they had the power, they, at this hour, would block the wheels of Government, unless the President would yield to their infernal schemes. Do not the set publicly declare, here in Boston, that not a man more should be raised, and not a dollar more should be voted, until President Lincoln throws out a proclamation of universal emancipation? Are not the mischief-making panderers to this traitorous element continually exciting expectations, through telegrams, that the President is on the eve of issuing such a proclamation?

The friends of President Lincoln will do service to the country, when they say to the whole set, "Get behind us, Satan." It is the gravest of political blunders to attempt to conciliate this element. It is as grave an error as it would be to attempt to meet and suppress this rebellion by sprinkling rose water: as nothing but the Union bayonet will answer at this time to meet Secession in arms, so nothing but political extermination will answer for abolition treason. Every effort of the friends of President Lincoln to meet the aims of the set who openly express scorn of the Constitution of their country, and who really abhor the Union of the Fathers, is an effort in the direction of the destruction of Constitutional Liberty. This is a solemn truth, and the sooner it is seen and acted upon, the better will it be for our country.

We observe that journals nearest in sentiment to the party who hold now, and have held for years, that the Constitution is an agreement with hell, are making it out that the Union never was weaker, and that rebellion never was stronger, than it is now! If the object of this sort of croaking was to aim for two confederacies, it is not easy to see how writers could more effectually promote this than they are doing. And so of other things. There cannot be pointed to a worse course than Charles Sumner's course about Western Virginia, so utterly does it override the Constitution by practically regarding it as a Territory which Congress is to govern. These fanatics, by insulting and browbeating the Border States on any and every occasion—by snubbing their Representatives and Senators—by exhibiting an arrogant and overbearing course unworthy the gigantic power of the free States—seem to be bent on driving these Border States into rebellion. Their abominable course is inexplicable on any other theory. All honor to Collamer and Browning and Cowan and Diven and Thomas, with a goodly band of other Republicans, for the manly rebukes they have administered to obviously unconstitutional schemes! If there be the depression in the public mind, beyond a question this terrible course of the fanatics in Congress and out of Congress has created it. It is so gigantic a breach of public faith, that no wonder men begin to doubt whether there is meaning in language—whether there is such a thing as solemn public faith.—*Boston Post.*

THE ABOLITION FANATICS.

Every well directed stroke at this abolition party is a double blow,—a blow at Northern infidelity to the Constitution and at Southern treason, and contributes to infuse fresh life into the country. It will be hailed with the highest satisfaction by the army whose glorious eye is upon the Flag, and by the loyal men who admire its bravery. The monster Union meeting at New York has given such a blow.

The Constitution recognizes Slave States and Free States as co-equal in reserved rights; that Kentucky, for instance, has as full power over the community within its limits as New York has within its limits. Can a sane man doubt this who knows anything of our polity? Is this not a fundamental in our system? Then let the good sense of the people rise up in terrible rebuke of the political hypocrisy and partizanship which, even while professing devotion to the Union, is practically undermining its foundations. Bring men and things boldly, fearlessly, righteously to this test. What accords with it, feeds the national life with sustaining influences; while the proposition to reduce a whole section of our country to a territorial condition is a Bohon Upas that can only bring the blight of death.—*Boston Post.*

Selections.

GENERAL McCLELLAN.

The campaign of Western Virginia in the summer of 1861 brought Gen. Geo. B. McClellan prominently before the people of the United States. His despatches were written in modest, terse English, commending their author as a master of chaste composition. We have learned since that they were written probably by his Adjutant, and not by himself, as is evident by their comparison with his recent ones, and especially that singular document, his address to the army in February, when about to march on Manassas. Besides, Gen. McClellan's unvarying success in his first campaign, and his alleged disregard of all stiff formalities, (wearing an awkward slouched hat on the field of battle,) went far to lead all to the conclusion that he was the Moses, called of God to lead us over the Red Sea, and through the Wilderness of the Slaveholders' rebellion. At the time of his call to the chief command, our own estimate of the man was quite as high as that entertained for him by the rest of the people; and nothing but the wait-and-prepare policy, drawn out for months together, impelled us to adopt the opinion that George B. McClellan, while an accomplished organizer of armies, a splendid engineer officer, and perhaps a good manœuvering commander, is but a poor *fighting* general.

We apprehend that no campaign was ever planned and finished in its details, according to the original draft. So many things depend upon contingencies that the thing is impossible. Hence, Generals like Napoleon and Garibaldi fight in a style that sets the rules of war at defiance, showing plainly that the art of insuring success at arms cannot always be learned in the schools, but is mainly a natural gift. McClellan's slow sieging mode of advance is *ostensibly* safe and sure, (because slow,) but nothing is farther from the fact. For instance, his plan of advance upon Richmond, instead of marching rapidly by way of the Rappahannock, seems to have contemplated a multitudinous army of operation that would sweep the whole peninsula between the James and York rivers, exposing his line to be cut in two at any point, as has taken place. The very slowness of his advance gives the enemy the chance for reinforcement and concentration against him. There has been no time since last November that a rapid march upon Richmond would not have brought the rebels out of their advanced intrenchments at Manassas and Yorktown, without the trouble of trenching. As soon as Columbus at the West was flanked by the battles of Somerset and Fort Donelson, that place had to be abandoned. The same was true of Island No. 10 and Nashville. But McClellan seems to have invaded the South very much as Xerxes marched on Greece, relying on the greatness of his army, and not as Garibaldi assailed Sicily with a handful of men, trusting to moral appliances and bold fighting. For nearly a year he has been at the head of the army of the East, and yet he has fought but one battle, where he made a sudden strategic assault upon the enemy—the battle of Hanover. In every other fight, he has been attacked by the enemy, and fought—as all such must do—at disadvantage. Now, why have Grant, Thomas, Pope, Rosecranz, Burnside, Mitchell, and almost every other subordinate commander, been driving the rebels before them, while he and Halleck have been digging and trenching against the wily enemy, who at his leisure perfects his schemes of rapid concentration to overwhelm them with disaster? We have no evidence to believe that Gen. McClellan's forte is fighting; or, perhaps it may be that Bull Run exists as a perpetual terror to him. We are free to confess, however, that finding himself in a swamp, where his men were falling by malaria faster than rebel balls could have destroyed them, and observing that he was outnumbered and about to be outflanked, he extricated them with consummate skill. Waiving a discussion of the reasons that induced General McClellan to make White House, on the Pamunkey, his base of operations, and the Chickahominy swamps his sieging ground, and simply recognizing the fact that, owing to the delay of his movements, he had become greatly weakened, and the enemy vastly strengthened, (all of which ought to have been foreseen and provided against)—we say, setting these things aside, and only looking at the bold and skillful field movements of the past two weeks, it must be admitted that Gen. McClellan's generalship was fully equal to the bravery of his army, and that neither has been excelled by any military operations of the nineteenth century. But the practical question is, Why has Gen. McClellan been at the head of the vastest army of modern times for eleven months, and yet the rebel capital still in their possession? Why was the Potomac blockaded all winter in the face of a host 250,000 strong? And why did he finally start to Richmond, like Peter the Hermit on a Crusade, leaving Norfolk, with all its dangerous capacity for mischief, unsubdued in his rear—a place which yielded to a small force under the brave Wool? It is not Gen. McClellan's *capacity* to organize armies, or ably direct them in the field, that is called in question; *but his earnestness and vigor in pressing his frequent opportunities to decisive victories.* It was the opinion of many officers and soldiers in his army, that, if the General had permitted it, our men would have chased the enemy pell-mell into Richmond during the route at Seven Pines on the 1st of June. The misfortune of McClellan's strategy seems to be to overlook *fighting* the rebels in detail; but leaving him time to recover from every blow, he strives to finish him at once by a *coup de main.* The rebels are wisely pursuing the tactics we employed against the British in the war of Independence, while McClellan, like the British, is relying upon crushing blows, which somehow or other, as with them, never come. But the McClellan men have a cheap mode of defence against all complaint and criticism. "It is all," say they, "the Secretary's fault for taking away his men, or not reinforcing him." We reply, that *it is the General's slow sieging strategy that makes so many men necessary.* During last winter, the army of the Potomac was two to the enemy's one; and yet nothing was done, although at the very time our brave Western Generals, with forces not more than equal to those opposed, were reducing the whole Northwest.

But the most momentous thought of all, at this time, is the possibility of foreign intervention, as a consequence of the delay and the late repulse. We confess to great fears of the result. We can imagine what Americans would think, if Lyons or Havre was a year in insurrection, and unconquered by the French Government at Paris—after that government had boasted an army of seven hundred thousand men to reduce them to obedience. We ought not to complain, under the circumstances, that foreigners are incredulous. The President has called for three hundred thousand more northern *white* men, to pour out their blood in this quarrel about the negro—who is counted out; and we should not be surprised if there are no active operations on the Potomac till fall, giving the rebels just that much more time to recover for another stubborn resistance to our advance. But the grand consolation to us, who have always been in favor of a war, "short, sharp and decisive," consists in this, that the longer the contest is protracted, the more effectually it makes an end of slavery, which is the cause of all the trouble. If we had taken Manassas in July, 1861, and if the rebellion had caved then, slavery would have been nearly as strongly entrenched in public favor as before; and if the war goes on another year, there will not be a slave in any rebellious State. McClellan's greatness as a general *may* consist in this: That he suffers the cauldron to boil until the charm shall be broken by emancipation, which our people are nearly as stupidly set against, as Pharaoh of old. So we are doubly armed, and await events with a calm trust in Divine Providence.—*Norristown Republican.*

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

It cannot be treasonable to repeat information given publicly by a United States Senator. Mr. Chandler has stated in his place in Congress, that one hundred and fifty-eight thousand men had been sent to the Peninsula before the recent battles. Of this number it is probable that twenty-three thousand were killed and wounded in battle and on picket duty, and disabled by sickness while lying in the swamps of the Chickahominy. This would leave one hundred and thirty-five thousand men; but to avoid any chance of over-estimation, we will call McClellan's effective force before the late battles *one hundred and twenty-five thousand men.* That army was acknowledged by everybody of military judgment to be as well equipped as any army in the world. The Government had lavished upon it its boundless resources. It lacked nothing that could make it formidable to the enemy. The soldiers went to the Peninsula in excellent condition. They were thoroughly disciplined, and had been tried for months on picket duty in front of Washington. They had the best arms, both large and small, manufactured in the world, and had become skillful in using them. They were emulous of the examples set them by their Western brothers on their successful battle-fields from Fort Donelson to Pittsburgh Landing. The rebels had lost that prestige of success which had encouraged them after the battles of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff. We expected—the country expected—a grand victory in Virginia. Ample time had been taken to make it sure—so we were told by those who directed the movements of that army. The people were patient—almost to the verge of apathy—under vexatious restraints and unexplained delays. The cry "On to Richmond!" which had led to a disaster at Bull Run, was heard no more in the land. We all waited the motion of the President and his chosen Generals, pledging them ample support. Is it strange, then, that the people are surprised and mortified by a disastrous reverse of our arms? Having given their confidence so freely, is it to be marvelled at that they are disappointed? Shall we wonder if they hold somebody responsible for a terrible blunder?

The resources of the country were more than sufficient to make victory sure on every field. They were all placed at the disposal of the President—and what is the result? Two causes of our defeat are so palpable as to be seen by civilians of ordinary common sense: the division of our army involved in the adoption of the Peninsula campaign, and the demoralization of the army of the Potomac by constant service in the trenches from Yorktown to the Chickahominy. We were not beaten by the arms of the enemy, but by the picks and spades in the hands of our own soldiers, with which they have wasted their vigor, to cover the whole surface of the Peninsula with earthworks that have done us no service, but which will remain forever as monuments of brave soldiers who died for their country, but in vain. Will not what has proved so disastrous in this campaign be discarded in the next? The 300,000 soldiers now called from the body of the people have an especial desire to be answered.—*Boston Herald.*

CONSUMMATE FOLLY.

In the prosecution of the war, there have been, as we might have expected there would be, many mistakes. But we question whether in the judgment of history there will be found one, approaching in magnitude that which the North has committed in waging the war at the expense of the lives of its best citizens, and persistently refusing to accept the services of a multitude of allies who were willing and anxious to be employed. The greatness of this folly particularly impresses us at the present time, when, owing to the rapid wasting away of the Federal armies in numerous and most destructive battles, and by diseases, if not so sudden in their ravages, yet, on the whole, more potent in diminishing the efficiency of our forces; when, by the rapid increase of the rebel hordes, through a most despotic and merciless conscription, it has become necessary to call to the help of the Government 300,000 additional troops. We cannot refrain from asking and pressing the inquiry, why do we not avail ourselves of the services of those black allies who are impatiently waiting the privilege of fighting for us, and who, if they are not employed on our side, will be used against us—will be compelled to work for the support of those rebels against whom we are fighting.

As if to exhibit this folly in the most glaring light, at this very juncture when the call for more men is made, one of our Generals writes to the Secretary of War that he has already a regiment of negroes, and can soon enlist from 40,000 to 50,000 such troops, and speaks in the highest terms of their qualifications for soldiers. Why then, we ask, shall this nation refuse to employ blacks, when Washington was glad to accept their services in the Revolutionary war, and Jackson in the War of 1812? When other nations, including the most highly civilized, willingly admit them into their armies, why should we refuse to accept them, and by that refusal virtually make a gift of them to the enemy, if not to fight, yet to do what is equally indispensable to them, support by labor those who do fight? Said Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives on the 4th inst.: "The employment of blacks is but carrying out the usage of all civilized nations. Nothing could be produced from history to show the contrary. The usage has been to liberate slaves, and take them into service to defeat the enemy." What good reason can be given why we should not conform to this usage? Will any one say the negroes will fight like savages? They are not savages. Multitudes of them are humble, devoted Christians. They have all spent their lives in the most Christian country in the world, and in what their masters claim is the most civilized portion of it, where the pure gospel is preached, and no isms are allowed. Why should they be expected to act like heathen who have been reared amid such advantages, in the very condition for which it is claimed they are made? Is the effect of God's own institution to make those who grow up under its influence no better than savages? Must not he be a fanatic abolitionist who makes so ridiculous an assertion?

But will the slaves fight? Why not? Blacks have fought well,—why should not those who have grown up among the chivalry be the most valiant? If they had lived among trading, cowardly Yankees, they might have become equally timid. But where courage is reckoned the greatest of virtues, surely men ought to learn to be brave.

Will it be said the war was not commenced for the purpose of overthrowing slavery, but simply to suppress the rebellion? Very true, but we are under no constitutional or other obligations which forbid us to avail ourselves of the rights of war, and to deprive the enemy of their property, and employ it in putting down the rebellion. We should remember that if we are not, in carrying on the war, to make the destruction of slavery our object, neither are we to make its maintenance our object. The fact that if we take a particular course we shall damage and perhaps destroy slavery, ought not to prevent us from pursuing it. If slavery were a most beneficent institution, we should be perfectly guiltless, though we overthrow it, when, by endangering it, we can put down the rebellion. The most conservative of conservatives is guilty of no inconsistency in advocating arming the negro. We hope that while the people come up to the help of the Government, there will be a general demand that blacks as well as whites shall be permitted and invited to fight in the noblest of all wars.—*Taunton Republican.*

CALLING ALL HANDS.

Unless we strangely misread the signs of the times, a great change in the manner of prosecuting the war for the Union is about to be inaugurated. We might say a *radical* change, but we waive the adjective in deference to the delicate sensibilities of our conservative friends. The American Republic, we gather from all we see and hear, has at length resolved to live and not die—at all events, not to die by suicide. The policy of fighting a demoniac rebellion with one hand only, is to be utterly given up, and in arming and fighting hereafter, our rulers and leaders are to consider solely what policy, justified by the laws of war, will most effectively weaken the Rebels, and secure the triumph of the National arms. How much the nation has sacrificed, and lost, and suffered, in default of such a policy hitherto—how a year, and precious blood, and Five Hundred Millions have been almost wasted for want of it—we do not care now to consider. Suffice it that at last the loyal masses of our countrymen have been brought to realize that the life of the Union is at stake; and that it can only be saved by the most determined, vigorous and unsparing use of all the National resources. When a Breckinridge Democrat so eminent and so ultra as Senator Rice, of Minnesota, speaks as he did in the debates of Wednesday, we may be sure that whatever is heartily loyal in the Democratic party is ready for the decisive step which, even to their minds, has become indispensable. Henceforward, we feel assured, the nation in her dire extremity will reject no proffered service, but will call all her loyal children to her rescue, even including the "servants born in her house," as did the patriarch Abraham.

Up to this time, the Slave Power now in rebellion against the Union has had the sole use of the four millions of our people held in bondage. A blind and senseless prejudice, born of slavery and its father the devil, has prohibited the use of blacks in the National service, unless as menials to a few officers. General Orders have forbidden the reception into our camps of loyal blacks who had fled from their rebel masters on purpose to warn us of ambuscades, surprises and assaults in overwhelming force on our exposed positions. Negroes who had braved everything to render our arms the most important service have been surrendered to the traitors who claimed them as their chattels, and by them beaten nearly or quite to death in punishment of their patriotism. Offers of military service by the despised race have been spurned as insolent and insulting presumption. Journals that pretend to be loyal have devoted far more talent, energy, and space to calumniating the blacks, who are almost necessarily friendly to the National cause, than to exposing and reprobating the treachery, cruelty, and villany of the traitors who are seeking our National ruin. To strengthen the Rebels and weaken the loyal by four millions of people would seem to have been the chief aim of the Democratic and Border State leaders and organs throughout the last eventful year. And the Administration, appalled by the menaces of a divided North, has hesitated and delayed until the Union is in its last extremity. We see enough to convince us that it can hesitate no longer.

Let us hope that whatever is now done to undermine the rebellion will be done in no halting, grudging, niggard spirit. Let us have done with ambiguity and paltering. If we are henceforth to esteem a black Unionist as at least the equal of a white traitor, let us frankly say so. If we want the slaves of traitors to cease working for the support of the rebellion, and begin working generally and in earnest on the side of the Union, let us tell them so in unmistakable terms. The pretence that they will never hear us is sheer absurdity. They have their expresses and their telegraphs, somewhat ruder than ours, but still effective. We are well assured that news has recently been received at Fortress Monroe from Florida by secret slave dispatch in eight days—the distance being not less than six hundred miles. The message probably made two-thirds of the journey on foot, keeping clear of cities and highways. Let our Government to-morrow issue a decree or proclamation giving freedom to all slaves of rebels who will present themselves at any of our camps, and henceforth give their services to the National cause, and three-quarters of the slaves in rebeldom would know the fact within a week, and the residue before the close of the current month. The fact that famine now threatens the South, while food is plenty in the loyal States, would strengthen the natural impulse to seek for freedom.

How much and what direct, positive service would thus be secured to the National cause, we do not decide; but we firmly believe a proclamation of freedom as above would rapidly concentrate around the National standards one hundred thousand stalwart diggers, cooks, and teamsters, ready to be converted into rank and file whenever our Generals shall say the word. But we do not count so much on what they would speedily do for us as on what they would cease doing for our enemies, and on the diversion of half the effective force of the rebellion from shooting Unionists into watching, hunting, and recapturing fugitive slaves. From the hour that it was generally understood that a slave escaping from the rebels to our lines would be a slave no longer, the rebel pickets on a line at least three thousand miles long must keep at least as sharp a lookout for fugitives in their rear as for Unionists in their front. Their anxieties and labors would thus be doubled, while their perils would be largely increased. And every hour would witness a weakening of the material base of the rebellion by the escape of enslaved workers for its willing upholders to be emancipated workers on the side of the Union.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

NATIONAL POLICY.

MR. EDITOR,—Much is said about the Union and Constitution—to restore the one and establish the other is said to be the only object of the war. Now it seems to me that rebels who have renounced the Constitution, and are seeking to destroy the Union, are to be dealt with in a military way—they have no right of citizenship until they cease to be rebels.

The South does not wish to return to the Union. Confidence between the free States is completely broken. No concessions to slavery will satisfy the South; nothing short of the extinction of slavery will satisfy the North. With this impassible gulf between, reunion on the old basis seems to me to be an impossibility. Only one of the two alternatives remains—we must either acknowledge the independence of the South, or we must abolish slavery. The first is out of the question; the second is a necessity which it seems impossible to avoid.

To say that Abolitionists are the cause of this war is supreme folly. Slavery is the cause, and nothing else. Destroy the Abolitionists if you will; no sooner done than a new crop of larger growth and more frowning aspect will spring from the tree. Slavery has had its day, and now comes its doom. The world is against it; God is against it; and it must fall.

A little more than a year ago, about twenty planters assembled at a tavern in Alabama to discuss politics. Pro-slavery rose to intense heat: the Yankees were cursed, and the whole party, except one, clamored for secession and war. This exception was an old planter, a wise and thoughtful man, a slaveholder, and a man of influence. They demanded his opinion, for he was suspected of being a Free State man. "If you enter upon this war," said the old man, "you will be beat—I tell you so." A shower of invectives came down upon him. Again they demanded his reason for saying they would be beaten. "Because," said the old man, "the North has twice as many men; the Union is right, and they have all good men on their side: and again, more than all, they have God on their side." "And who," they furiously demanded, "is on our side?" "I'll tell ye plainly," said the old man; "you've got them cursed Spaniards in Cuba, the Democratic party, and the devil!" The old man escaped for that time. This conversation was heard and related by a Northern man, who lodged for that night in the same tavern, and who then did not anticipate the war.

The old planter did not see that the Democratic party in less than a year, after making every possible concession to the South, would buckle on its armor, and battle in the front ranks for the preservation of the Union and the crushing out of the rebellion; but in regard to the other two allies of the South, he was quite right.

My opinion, you know, has always been that General Abolition would have led the war, and not bring up the rear. I have no contest with Gen. McClellan, whom I believe to be a brave and skilful officer; but I think the aforesaid General, without rifled cannon or immense armies, would have done more to crush the rebellion, than all the military power we have employed: not that the military is not necessary and of vast importance to follow up the work; but as a pioneer and preliminary he would have prepared the way, by satisfying the world that the moral sentiment of America was true to freedom, and all pretence for intervention would have been put to rest forever.—*Newburyport Herald.*

GEN. WALLACE ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

On Wednesday night, 8th inst., about 11 o'clock, a number of Indianians tendered Maj.-Gen. Lew. Wallace a serenade at his quarters at the National Hotel in Washington. An unusually large concourse was present on the occasion. After several national airs by the band, Gen. Wallace made his appearance upon the balcony, when he was greeted with most enthusiastic cheering. In the course of a very spirited and telling speech, which was warmly applauded, Gen. Wallace said:—

I am no politician. (Cries of "Good for that," and "Don't want any now-a-days.) Probably for a regular speech, I had been much obliged to some of my political friends if they had made it for me. ("Keep them in the dark," and laughter.) If it is expected that I am to speak on subjects of a political character to-night, I know I should have been obliged for some of them to have performed the task for me. If I touch upon them, bear me witness that I speak of them not as a politician, but as a soldier. (Applause.) I was at the Senate Chamber to-day. They were discussing the policy of the war. The question in agitation was, or what at least seemed to be the paramount question, "Should the negro be used or not?" (Cries of "Yes," "yes," and "No," "no.") Well, I find my audience precisely as I found the Senate. (Laughter and applause.) Some said "yes," and some said "no"—just as your are saying. (Laughter.) (A Voice—"Will you give us a soldier's opinion?") Yes, let me speak about that as a soldier ("good"), not as a politician. ("Don't want any politicians.") He would be a poor soldier, in my opinion, who would fail to use every element of war which God Almighty gave him, if he could use it to his advantage. (Prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.) I think you concur with me in that at least. (Cries of "Certainly we do;" "Every sensible man will.") Now, then, if we find the negro before us, or around us, as we advance, planted there by some accident—Providence may have had a great deal to do with it—and we can find his services available, would not that General be a crazy man who would refuse to use them? ("Most assuredly," and applause.) So it seems to me, and my position may be plainly stated upon that. If by the services of a negro I can make my soldiers comfortable; if, by the services of a band of negroes, I can relieve them of onerous duties and hard work; if I can make them available to dig my trenches ("That's right"), shall I not do it? (Cries of "Yes," "yes." Loud applause.) Yes, and I will do it. (Vociferous cheering. A voice—"Soldiers will follow you to the death for that." Another voice—"Put no arms in their hands." Several voices—"Oh yes, as many as they want.") Now, then, let me speak about that. (Cries of "All right now;" "You are a mighty good boy.") If I accept of the services of a negro, and he works well and faithfully, fed by us, clothed by us, and he stands by my gallant regiment, relieving them of the hard duties I have mentioned, would it be human, would it not be cruel, to put him into the army, in the way of shot, and yet give him nothing with which to defend himself? (Cries of "That's so," and loud and continued cheering.) My fellow-citizens, I speak as a soldier all the time, recollect. I am not viewing this matter in its political aspect, for I have as much prejudice against the negro politically, and am as much opposed to slavery agitation, as any of you can be. Yet where he can be made available, let us make him so. Then what shall we do with him? (A voice—"Place him in the rear." "No, put him to the front." [Applause.] A voice—"In the ditch.") Stop one moment, there is policy in war as well as in politics. One thing is very certain; nothing is to be so carefully guarded against as the prejudices of the soldiers, and unless it was some desperate occasion, some last resort, when even soldiers would be grateful for their assistance, I would not propose to put him in the line of battle to the front. ("That's the true doctrine," and applause.) But to every brigade I would have a regiment of working negroes—to every company I would have a fair complement of cooks. (Applause.) I would feed them, I would organize them, and to each one who did good service, I would at the end of the war give him or her freedom. (Immense cheering.) Let me make one remark further. The common impression has been that this was a war in which we had all the advantages. Now, then, listen to my practical experience. I tell you it has not been such a war of inequality in our favor as many suppose. I have visited plantations in the course of marches. I have asked, Where is the man of the house? He is in the army. I have looked around. I have seen his harvest field full of stalwart negroes. They reap his harvest, and they put it away as well and as carefully as if the man had been at home, and not in the army; and what was the result? He had plenty to eat—a superabundance—some of which he was sure would come to the sustenance of that Southern army. There are supposed to be 4,000,000 of negroes. Do you suppose that Jefferson Davis, if we went humbly to him beseeching such a thing, proposing to him: You have 4,000,000 of operatives belonging to your people in the South; under our policy we may not touch them—not molest them. We will leave them upon your farms to work, will you agree to leave us 4,000,000 of operatives home on our farms, in our shops, unmolested? Do you suppose that Jefferson Davis would agree to that? ("No!") Yet he would have to agree to it before equality of advantage was established between us. (Applause.) Jefferson Davis is a better manager, because he is a desperate man. (Applause.)

We cannot forbear repeating the closing remark of the General:—

"Oh, that I could get a little back bone into those who are governing us; if I could but animate them to use the great powers at their command; if I could induce them to let *us* (the army) make *war*, it is all I ask."

SLAVERY A CONTINUAL CONSPIRACY.

The Atlantic Monthly, for June, contains a valuable historic paper on "The Horrors of St. Domingo," to be continued in successive numbers, which people who are nervous and timid about emancipation would do well to read. Here is a prefatory extract in relation to the nature of slavery:—

Slavery is a continual conspiracy. Its life depends upon intrigue, aggression, adroit combinations with other forms of human selfishness. The people at the North who at this moment hate to hear the word Emancipation mentioned, and who insist that the war shall merely restore things to their original position, are the people who always hated the phrase "Anti-Slavery," who will be ready to form a fresh coalition with Slavery for the sake of recovering or creating political advantages, and whom the South will know how to use again, by reviving ancient prejudices, and making its very wounds a cause for sympathy. Slavery will be the nucleus of political combinations so long as it can preserve its constitutional and commercial advantages,—while it can sell its cotton and recover its fugitives. Is the precious blood already spilled in this war to become, as it congeals, nothing but cement to fugitive slave bills, and the basis of three-fifths, and the internal slave trade? For this we spend three millions a day, and lives whose value cannot be expressed in dollars,—for this anguish will sit for years at thousands of desolate hearths, and be the only legacy of fatherless children. For what glory will they inherit whose fathers fell to save still a chance or two for Slavery? It is for this we are willing to incur the moral and financial hazards of a great struggle,—to furnish an Anti-Republican party of reconstructionists with a bridge for Slavery to reach a Northern platform, to frown at us again from the chair of State. The Federal picket who perchance fell last night upon some obscure outpost of our great line of Freedom has gone up to Heaven, protesting against such cruel expectations, wherever they exist; and they exist wherever apathy exists, and old hatred lingers, and wherever minds are cowed and demoralized by the difficulties of this question. In his body is a bullet run by Slavery, and sent by its unerring purpose; his comrades will raise over him a little hillock upon which Slavery will creep to look out for future chances,—ruthlessly scanning the political horizon from the graves of our unnamed heroes. This, and eight dollars a month, will his wife inherit; and if she ever sees his grave, she will see a redoubt which the breast of her husband raises for some future defence of Slavery. The people, who are waging this war, and who are actually getting at the foe through the bristling ranks of politicians and contractors, must have such a moral opinion upon this question as to defeat these dreadful possibilities. Let us be patient, because we see some difficulties; but let us give up the war itself sooner than our resolution, that, either by this war, or after it, Slavery shall be stripped of its insignia, and turned out to cold and irretrievable disgrace, weaponless, fangless, and with no object in the world worthy of its cunning. We can be patient, but we must also be instant and unanimous in insisting that the whole of Slavery shall pay the whole of Freedom's bill. Then the dear names whose sound summons imperatively our tears shall be proudly handed in by us to History, as we bid her go with us from grave to grave to see how the faith of a people watched them against the great American body-snatcher, and kept them inviolate to be her memorials. We feel our hearts reinforced by the precious blood which trickled from Ball's Bluff into the Potomac, and was carried thence into the great sea of our conscience, tumultuous with pride, anger, and resolve. The drops feed the country's future, wherever they are caught first by our free convictions ere they sink into the beloved soil. Let us be instant, be incisive with our resolution, that peace may not be the mother of another war, and our own victory rout ourselves.

Blow, North-wind, blow! Keep that bearded field of bayonets levelled southward! Rustle, robes of Liberty, who art walking terribly over the land, with sombre countenance, and garments rolled in blood! See, she advances with one hand armed with Justice, while the other points to that exquisite symmetry half revealed, as if beckoning thitherward her children back again to the pure founts of life! "Be not afraid," she cries, "of the noise of my garments, and their blood-stains; for this is the blood of a new covenant of Freedom, shed to redeem and perpetuate a chosen land."

SPEECH OF SENATOR CHANDLER.

In his late able speech in the U. S. Senate—

Mr. Chandler referred to the fact that the Committee on the Conduct of the War had been engaged in investigation, and had collected a deal of evidence. Referring to the battle of Bull Run, he said there was a column of 20,000 under Patterson, ordered either to attack the enemy, or else keep him engaged so he could not reinforce at Manassas. Patterson telegraphed that Johnston had a superior force, and had received large reinforcements, when the fact was that Johnston received no reinforcements, and had less force than Patterson. The reason of the loss of the battle of Bull Run was the delay from Thursday till Sunday by reason of the quartermaster's supplies not coming; the delay of Sunday morning in consequence of Keyes' brigade not getting in position; the arrival of Johnston's reinforcements; the disaster in placing a battery a thousand yards in advance, and mistaking a rebel regiment for a battery support, and the failure to bring up the reserve at the critical time. But the losses of Bull Run were small, and the people rallied, till on the 10th of December the roll was 195,485 men, with thirteen regiments not reported, and mostly intended for General Burnside, all under command of General McClellan. He then referred to the battle of Ball's Bluff, reading the orders to Devens and Colonel Baker, showing that Baker supposed there were 40,000 men within twelve miles of him; and there was no evidence of rashness on the part of Colonel Baker, except exposing his own person. He quoted from the evidence of Major John Dix, who said that a very few men in reinforcement would have sufficed to drive off the enemy at Ball's Bluff, and this gallant officer offered to go if they would let him have a company of one hundred men. The enemy's batteries were in a wood, and it was difficult to tell what their force was.

Mr. Chandler continued his remarks, and read from the testimony of the general officers concerning the battle of Ball's Bluff to the effect, that reinforcements could easily have been sent by the way of Edward's Ferry, but McCall and Smith were ordered to fall back at the very time Baker was sent across the river, and no men were sent from Edward's Ferry, though the distance was short. General Stone swears there were never any mounted guns between Edward's Ferry and Ball's Bluff. The man who issued the order must answer to God for the slaughter of the brave men in that fight. After this wholesale murder, the whole army of the Potomac retired, except from in front of Washington. He then read further testimony, showing that the Navy Department applied to the War Department for 4000 men to hold Matthias Point, and keep open the Potomac, commencing such application as early as June, till in October it was agreed to send men, and vessels were gathered there by the Navy Department, but the troops here were not sent by the appointed time, and the Navy Department could not find out the reason. The evidence further stated that the President assisted the Navy Department, as much as he could with this plan, but Gen. McClellan objected because he feared that the arrangements for landing could not be made. Thus, he said, the nation was disgraced for months by the blockade of the Potomac, and the Capital besieged by a force at no time half that of the United States. In December, the nation began to clamor for a movement, and the Committee on the Conduct of the War urged the necessity of some movement, and the President and Cabinet were in favor of some forward movement, and they were assured by Gen. McClellan that a move would be made very soon; that he never intended to go into winter quarters, and he did not. Our brave men spent the winter in canvas tents. At last, in January, the President gave an order to go forward, and that glorious event took place at Fort Donelson, Fort Henry, Newbern, &c., and do-nothing strategy seemed to give way to work, and the day of spades, pickaxes and shovels was over. On the 22d of February, the army of the Potomac was ordered to move, but it was not ready. At last on the 16th of March it did move under the protest of the commander. On the 10th of March that army numbered 230,000 men by musket roll. They marched on Manassas, and the wooden guns of Centreville, and the enemy less than 40,000 quietly moved away. At a council of war, eight generals voted not to advance on Manassas, but leave the enemy there, and sneak around by Annapolis. Seven out of eight of these generals were appointed by the advice of Gen. McClellan. But the Secretary of War overruled this, and made the army move on Manassas. Why the magnificent army of 230,000 did not march on Richmond, no one knows, but at last McClellan divided the army, and sailed for Fortress Monroe. The Committee on the Conduct of the War summoned General Wadsworth, who swore that he had only 19,022 men left to defend Washington, and not a single gun mounted on wheels, and part of this force was new and undisciplined, and some nearly disorganized. He (Chandler) then read from the testimony of John Tucker, Assistant Secretary of War, who testified that prior to the 5th of April, 120,000 men were sent down to McClellan, then Franklin's division was sent, 12,000 more; the 1st of June, McCall's division, 10,000 more, and about that time 11,000 from Baltimore and Fortress Monroe; and last June, Shield's division, about 5,000, were sent, making a total of 158,000 men, sent to Gen. McClellan prior to the engagements before Richmond. Mr. Tucker further testified that he did not know of any other force which could have been sent to Gen. McClellan. Thus, Mr. Chandler said it is shown that 158,000 of the best troops that ever stood on God's footstool have been sent to Gen. McClellan, and yet the treasonable press of the country have been howling against the Secretary of War because he had not sent reinforcements to Gen. McClellan. He read further from the testimony of Gen. Meigs, corroborating Mr. Tucker, and saying that he believed everything that Gen. McClellan had asked for had been promptly sent to him by the government. Mr. Chandler continued, saying that McClellan lost more men in the trenches, five to one, than ever fell before the enemy since the army went to Yorktown. At last, when a small fraction of the army whipped the enemy at Williamsburg, McClellan, at a long distance from the field of battle, wrote a dispatch to the Secretary of War, that they should try to hold the enemy in check, but they were too fast. The road to Richmond was open, and all he had to do was to march out of the swamps and into Richmond; but he found the most swamps he could, and sat right down in the middle of them, and went to work digging trenches, and tens of thousands of brave men were lost there by sickness. Then, after waiting, the battle of Fair Oaks was fought, and, instead of following the enemy into Richmond, they found another swamp, and commenced digging trenches, and waited till the enemy got all the reinforcements they could raise by impressment, and for the army from Corinth to come, and then the rebels attacked us, throwing their whole force on our right wing; but instead of reinforcing there, they ordered a retreat, and that is strategy. We lost ten thousand men there digging trenches, and then left those trenches without firing a gun, and the army was ordered to advance on the gunboats instead of Richmond. He said he knew he should be denounced for making these disclosures, but he thought the country ought to know the facts, and only traitors and fools would denounce him.

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER.

The following letter from Charles Sumner was read at the great war meeting in New York city last week:

"WASHINGTON, July 14.

DEAR SIR:—I welcome and honor your patriotic efforts to arouse the country to a generous, determined, irresistible unity in support of our government; but the Senate is still in session, and my present post of duty is here. A Senator cannot leave his post, more than a soldier.

But absent or present, the cause in which the people are to assemble has my God-speed, earnest, devoted, affectionate, from the heart. What I can do, let me do. There is no work which I will not undertake, there is nothing which I will not renounce, if so I may serve my country.

There must be unity of hands and of hearts too, that the republic may be lifted to the sublime idea of a true commonwealth, which we are told "ought to be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body." Oh! sir, if my feeble voice could reach my fellow-countrymen, in their workshops, in the streets, in the fields, and wherever they meet together; if for one moment I could take to my lips the silver trumpet, whose tones should sound and reverberate throughout the land, I would summon all, forgetting prejudice and turning away from error, to help unite, quicken and invigorate our common country,—most beloved now that it is most imperilled,—to a compactness and bigness of virtue in just proportion to its extended dominion, so that it should be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, instinct with all the singleness of unity. Thus inspired, the gates of hell cannot prevail against us.

To this end, the cries of faction must be silenced, and the wickedness of sedition, whether in print or public speech, must be suppressed. These are the Northern allies of the rebellion. An aroused and indignant people, with iron heel, ought to tread out the serpent, so that he can neither hiss nor sting.

With such a concord, God will be pleased, and He will fight for us. He will give quickness to our armies, so that the hosts of the rebellion will be broken and scattered as by the thunderbolt, and He will give to our beneficent government that blessed inspiration, better than any newly raised levies, by which the rebellion shall be struck in its single vulnerable part; by which that colossal abomination which was its original mainspring, and is its present motive-power, shall be overthrown, and by which the cause of the Union shall be linked with that divine justice whose weapons are of celestial temper.

God bless our country! and God bless all who now serve it with singleness of heart!

I have the honor to be, dear sir,
Your faithful servant,
CHARLES SUMNER.

Charles Gould, Esq., Sec'y of Select Committee.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1862

CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Anniversary of British West India Emancipation will be celebrated in the usual manner at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON, on FRIDAY, August 1st, in MASS MEETING, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

No event in history is more deserving of special commemoration than this—transforming, as it did, nearly a million of chattel slaves into free British subjects, by act of Parliament, in obedience to a regenerated public sentiment, through long years of Anti-Slavery agitation—and demonstrating, as it has done, the safety and beneficence of immediate emancipation on the largest scale, even under the most adverse circumstances,—to the confusion and ignominious exposure of all the prophesiers of evil consequences, and to the triumphant vindication of the atrociously calumniated negro race.

The friends of liberty, who desire to witness a still nobler jubilee in our own Slavery-cursed land, will, we doubt not, make their arrangements to be present, as far as practicable, in order to make the occasion instrumental to the furtherance of the sacred cause of human rights, without regard to the accidental distinctions arising from complexion or race.

Among the speakers looked for and confidently expected on the occasion are the following:—

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, WM. WELLS BROWN, JOHN S. ROCK, ANDREW T. FOSS, Rev. DANIEL FOSTER, and others.

☞ An Excursion Train on the Old Colony Railroad will leave Boston at 9 o'clock, A. M. Leave Plymouth 9.20, A. M., stopping at usual way stations.

RETURNING, leave the Grove at 5 1-4 P. M.

The *Old Colony Railroad Company* will convey passengers, on that day, to and from the Abington Grove, at the following rates, being the same as upon former years:—

Boston, Savin Hill, Dorchester, Neponset, Quincy, and Braintree,—to the Grove and back,—*for adults, 50 cents; children, 25 cents.*

Plymouth, and all way stations not already mentioned,—to the Grove and back, *half the usual rates.*

Excursion tickets good on other trains.

Should the day prove stormy, the meeting will be held in the Town Hall, adjacent to the Grove, so that there will be no interruption of the proceedings.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
BRIGGS ARNOLD,
SAMUEL DYER,
} *Committee of Arrangements.*

A BETRAYED COUNTRY.

Since the capture of Fort Sumter by the Southern traitors in arms, and the subsequent call of the Government for seventy-five thousand volunteers to vindicate its lawful supremacy, there has been an immense disparity between the contending parties on the score of numbers, resources, wealth and power. At first, a single Gulf State—South Carolina—boldly hoisted the flag of rebellion; then four, and finally six more States joined her, and organized themselves into an independent Confederacy—making eleven slave States arrayed against nineteen free States, with Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri in a divided condition. At whatever disadvantage the Government was taken at the outset by the conspirators, its means of defence were boundless. Fifteen months have elapsed, and though an army of nearly a million of men has been brought into the field, and a thousand million of dollars expended, to uphold the Union, no essential progress has been made in reducing the revolted States to obedience. On the contrary, the recognition of their independence by France and England is a matter of daily probability, and the Capital of the Nation is safe only because surrounded by almost impregnable fortifications and a strong military force. The great army before Richmond, under General McClellan, has been compelled to make a disastrous retreat, with immense loss of men and stores, some twenty-five miles from the swamps of the Chickahominy to the banks of the James river, and finds safety temporarily only under the fire of the gun-boats. Of that army, seventy thousand, within ten months, have melted away—killed, wounded, sick and missing—and the Government has signified to the loyal States the pressing necessity that exists for three hundred thousand additional troops. It now seems probable that, though tempting bounties are offered by the various local authorities to volunteers, it will be necessary to resort to a general system of drafting. Every thing is at a stand still; enthusiasm has nearly become extinguished; and the hitherto most hopeful are beginning to sink into a state of despondency.

To what is this state of things owing? Not to any thing the rebels have done, or are capable of doing, by themselves. Before an efficient Government and a united North,—Generals who are equally competent and earnest, and an army inspired by the sentiments of impartial liberty,—they would be swept away like chaff before the whirlwind. But the Government is, practically, false to itself—blind as a bat to its true line of policy—stumbling, halting, prevaricating, irresolute, weak, besotted—disposed to trust the management of its armies to the bitter and uncompromising enemies of the administration, and to keep in subordinate stations or promptly to ostracise its most energetic and reliable friends. The Northern house is fearfully divided against itself, in spite of all surface unanimity; and "a house divided against itself cannot stand." A growing treasonable spirit is visible in every direction; and traitors, under the guise of loyalty, are every where in systematic and designed conspiracy to restore the reign of satanic democracy, in order to proffer the most humiliating terms of peace and union to the rebels, and to place the destiny of the republic once more in their blood-stained hands, with despotic power surpassing all antecedent usurpation. The democratic party at the North is essentially as treasonable a party in spirit and purpose as exists in any part of the revolted South, and incomparably more to be detested and feared by every true friend of his country. While simulating patriotism, it is rotten with treachery. Its rank and file, with few exceptions, are composed of the most ignorant, desperate and degraded portion of the population, and its leaders are as unprincipled demagogues as ever cursed the earth—men capable of conniving at any villany, and of instigating to the perpetration of any outrage, however atrocious, to the overthrow of all the safeguards of liberty and the rights of human nature, in order to subserve their hellish ambition. All the principles of genuine democracy are shamelessly discarded by the party. It goes for the perpetual enslavement of the four millions now in bondage in this country, and of their posterity, and brutally resists every effort even to meliorate their terrible condition. Its language is uniformly that of blackguardism and ruffianism, whenever the cause of these millions is urged upon their compassionate consideration. It threatens violence—it demands silence—it froths at the mouth—it shrieks, "Nigger! nigger! Bobolition! bobolition!" Its organs, while pretending to be preeminently loyal, are sedulously devoted to the success of the rebels, by fiercely denouncing every proposition for the confiscation of their slave property; and where they publish one syllable against Southern treason, they print whole columns of lying abuse and misrepresentation of Northern abolitionism. They shower their dirty compliments upon the President (to his discredit) as governed by a truly conservative spirit, and in all respects faithful to the Constitution; and at the same time they boldly declare that no reconciliation with the South can be effected until the Democratic party again holds the reins of government—when, of course, "order will reign in Warsaw," whatever terms the traitors choose to dictate will be submissively acceded to, and the most stringent measures adopted, through penal legislation and mob violence, to give absolute supremacy to the Slave Power.

IS GOV. STANLEY ABETTING TREASON?

So it would seem by the following startling letter, just received from a reliable correspondent at Newbern, N. C. Read, and be astounded, friends of your country and of free institutions! When is the rebellion to be put down, if such men as Halleck and Stanley are to be placed at the head of affairs?

"NEWBERN, (N. C.) July 11, 1862.

"From what I have seen and heard of Governor Stanley, I am well satisfied that his whole heart, if he has any, is with the rebels, and it is a burning disgrace that he should be allowed to remain as Governor of this State one moment longer. I will give you a few facts as to his course since I have been here. If such a course is continued, it will only tend to fasten closer the fetters of the poor slave, and make slavery supreme. Gov. Stanley allows the officers of the rebel army to come into Newbern under a flag of truce, with their families, whom they leave here, under the protection of the Governor, while they are absent leading the armies of the rebellion against us. These rebel officers are blindfolded when they cross our lines, but at the same time are taken to some of our Generals' quarters, and feasted with wines and food. And this same Governor Stanley has ordered that all the white families of Newbern within our lines shall be provided with the best of flour and food of all kinds, and the best of tea and coffee, at the expense of our Government, while their husbands and brothers remain in the rebel army. This is creating such a feeling here, that our Quartermasters talk of handing in their resignations. He also allows these same rebels to cart their cotton, which they dig out of the ground, (where they had buried it previous to our arrival,) and ship it to market; and from Washington, N. C., he is protecting them in shipping lumber, shingles, &c., to the West Indies. And all this is done by Massachusetts men, under arms; and if we take a prisoner of war, no matter how mean he is, the Governor paroles him. Our soldiers are completely disgusted with the whole proceedings.

"One of our Massachusetts boys has been acting as postmaster at Newbern ever since our army reached the city, and he has got the recommendation of the Colonel of our Regiment, Gen. Foster's, and Major-General Burnside, and has furnished such bonds as are required. He has even gone further, and has offered to deposit the amount of bonds required, in cash, here in Newbern, to remain on deposit so long as he shall act as postmaster. But Governor Stanley even declines to accept of that, as I have learned from the postmaster this morning, his object being to get in some North Carolina *secesh*, some miserable lickspittle of a tool to overhaul our letters and papers.

"These are *facts;* and how long are we to live under such a milk-and-water rule? I thank God that we were whipped at Richmond; and my prayer is, that we may be defeated in every engagement, till we are ready to do justice to the whole human family; and if we must lose our capital (Washington) before justice can be done, I for one say, in God's name, let it come, and come quickly!"

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE ARMY.

Three hundred thousand men are now assembling, at the call of the President, to place their lives in his hands, and to be sacrificed, if he shall think the good of the country requires it. What is to become of this vast number of men? What are the probabilities in regard to their destiny during the coming year?

They go with the understanding that many of their number are to perish miserably on the battle-field, many in the camp, many in the hospitals. They are aware of great privations and sufferings to be encountered, in daily life, for the term of their enlistment, if their lives shall last so long; and they take the risk of the further (and probably greater) unanticipated privations and sufferings which the war may have in store for them. They leave their private affairs, their business, their families, and give themselves entirely up to the President, for the good of the country. Surely they do their part. Surely they have a right to expect that the President shall do *his* part, making some effort and some sacrifice for their sakes, using his legitimate power to protect them, helping them to victory (where that is possible) by the exercise of his high function, instead of by the exposure of their lives.

If the President could, by an act of his will, diminish the rebel army at Richmond to one half its present number, would it not be his duty to do it? Would not this be imperatively his duty, alike to the besieging army which has just received so disastrous a check, to the brave volunteers who are going to reinforce it, to their friends at home who yield them to his summons, and to the country which has put him in charge of its defence and its welfare?

The President *can*, by a single word, and in a single week, reduce the rebel army to one half its present number.

The force of the two sides, during that terrible week of battles which sacrificed tens of thousands of lives without material change in favor of either party, was nearly equally balanced. We had not men enough to accomplish the capture of Richmond; so we proceed to raise more. They had not men enough to conquer or drive away the besieging army; so they, of course, have proceeded to raise more. Are the two reinforced armies to engage again in another series of ineffective slaughters? Are dead men to continue to be piled up around Richmond as long as volunteers or conscripts can be raised from the spacious North and the spacious South to battle there?

This is a question to be decided absolutely by the will of Abraham Lincoln. He has power to decide whether the rebel army shall retain that equality of numbers with ours which it has hitherto retained; whether it shall beat us in the next battles; whether it shall still be able to hold Richmond against us.

The policy of the President has hitherto allowed, and still allows, a concentration of the rebel force at Richmond. The vast army in occupation there is made up of regiments from every Southern State; and the new volunteers or conscripts who are now gathering to reinforce it, are gathering from every Southern State, and marching, with their utmost speed, in converging lines, towards Richmond. It is in the President's power, if he will, to keep all these forces in their respective rebel States, and to send half the Richmond army, post-haste, to reinforce *them*, leaving Virginia and its capital to immediate conquest by the Federal army. The question is, will he do it? Will he make a sacrifice of personal feeling corresponding with that which the soldiers and the people have made? Will he relinquish his pride of persistency in a course of policy which, tried for more than a year, has proved abortive?

The course of Abraham Lincoln's administration, thus far, has shown two phases, each marked by a frightful expenditure of treasure and of blood. A third is urgently needed, and there *is* a third which promises thorough and (comparatively) speedy success. The question is, shall this third one be tried fairly, and be tried now, when it will be so effective in saving the lives of our soldiers before Richmond?

During the first six months of his administration, the President tried the experiment of absolute non-interference with slavery. He wished to conciliate both the rebel States and the Border States. He signally failed in both cases.

Since then, he has so far yielded to the necessities of the case, and the urgent requests that have been made him from many quarters, as to make a few moderate, intermittent and fragmentary movements, looking towards the discouragement of slavery. Moreover, these have not only been few and insufficient, but they have alternated with occasional movements in the opposite direction. And the last specimen of the President's action in regard to slavery has been an unworthy evasion of the just and manly request of Gen. Butler, that *some* uniform rule be dictated from head-quarters, by which both he and Gen. Phelps may guide themselves, thus avoiding the folly and harm of two diverse courses of policy in the same department.

The question is, will the President now try a third course, namely, active opposition to slavery, uniformly exercised wherever his civil or military power is operating, all over the country, with the intent of utterly exterminating that accursed institution, as far as the United States are concerned?

The question is, will he use the power which clearly, in time of war, belongs to his function, both as President and as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to abolish slavery? Will he make Proclamation, in either or both of these capacities, that SLAVERY IS ABOLISHED THROUGHOUT THIS NATION? Will he send explicit direction to each station where his naval and military forces are now carrying on the war, announcing this Proclamation, directing that it be there published as extensively as possible, and directing also that the services of black as well as white loyalists shall be accepted and used in every practicable manner towards overthrowing the rebellion? And will he publish in Washington, simultaneously with the Proclamation above-mentioned, the fact that such instructions have been sent, and will at once be acted on, wherever our army or navy are operating?

Action like this would be powerfully efficient in many ways; but I suppose the following would be its first, its immediate operation:—

As soon as the army in Richmond should hear of these two acts, the issuing of such a Proclamation by the President, and the order to employ blacks as well as whites in all the operations of the army and navy, both the rebel leaders and the rebel soldiers would see that the danger to their cause was far more threatening at their respective homes than at Richmond. And the same thing would be seen by the authoritins of the rebel States on the Atlantic border, on the Gulf, and on the Mississippi, as soon as the intelligence reached them. The Governors of these States would at once demand the return of all, or a large part, of the troops they had sent to Richmond; and the regiments at Richmond would see that such an order must speedily be given, and that no time was to be lost in obeying it. The very first effect of the movement in question by President Lincoln would be a scattering of at least half the army that now defends Richmond, and the result must be our speedy possession of that place, either by capitulation or by a comparatively short and bloodless struggle. Does not the President's duty to the Three Hundred Thousand imperatively require this policy? Without this, or something equivalent to this, are not these brave men marching to sacrifice, and to a sacrifice comparatively useless?

I am not now to speak of the many and great advantages of other kinds, and to both races, which would follow the abolition of slavery, but only of the manifold aid which such abolition would give in quelling the rebellion. The first result of such action (probably an immediate result) would be the scattering of the Richmond army.

The second result in order of time would be an organization of negro regiments under our commanders at the various stations in the Southern country, not only strengthening these stations for all purposes of present action, but enabling us to hold them after the coming sickness shall have prostrated our Northern soldiers. It will be remembered that Gen. Hunter proposed to organize fifty such regiments in his military department, and that his success in this direction was perfectly satisfactory and encouraging, until the President interfered with him. However superior our soldiers may be to the negroes in other respects, the latter are superior in power of withstanding the climate. Why should not this superiority be enlisted on our side, and taken away from the enemy's side?

This brings us to a third very great service of the movement in question towards the overthrow of the rebellion. All the force, all the numbers, all the manifold capabilities drawn by the proposed method to our side would be so much abstracted from the strength of the enemy. While we refrain from making such a movement, no doubt their boast will remain true, that the slaves are an element of strength in their warfare, always available for the severe labors involved in fortification and the movements of armies, and when these services are not required, always useful in the production of food and clothing. To withdraw these benefits from the Confederacy, and to acquire them for the Union, would make an immense change in the position and prospects of the war.

Lastly, we should remember that, just as this policy must scatter the forces of the rebels now concentrated at Richmond, so it must prevent a future concentration of their forces *anywhere*. As soon as the movement is begun of welcoming the negroes to the duties and the rewards of loyalty, from that moment no rebel State in which our armies are operating will have a single soldier to spare for the exigencies of any other State, or of the Confederate leaders. From that moment they must fight in detail, and must be vanquished in detail.

Let me glance at the reasons commonly urged against a Proclamation, by the President, of the immediate abolition of slavery.

1. It would be unconstitutional.

Answer.—If common sense does not show you that war overrides Constitutions as well as other ordinary rules, look at reason; look at the elaborate argument of John Quincy Adams, showing conclusively that the proposed action, in time of war, is within the province of the President, as well as within the province of Congress; then, as an exemplification of this, look at the facts of our present war, and observe that the President has done a dozen acts entirely unconstitutional, under the exigencies of the case; correctly assuming that the right to make war includes the right to use all means needful for success in it. The Constitution itself, in providing for war, provides for its subjection to the necessities imposed by war.

2. The people in the North and West would not sustain the President in such action.

Answer.—This objection is an inference from insufficient premises. It is true that the people at present do not desire such action, and would not advise it. But they would immediately, and by an overwhelming majority, fall in with a *decision* of the PRESIDENT to that effect; just as they agreed to his decision, the very reverse of their expectations and wishes, in the case of Mason and Slidell.

3. The army would not sustain such action.

Answer.—The objection is absurd. Nine officers out of every ten are as ready to obey orders as Gen. Butler is, even when he dislikes the service in question. And ten will be ready and willing to take the place of every one who may resign. And the soldiers are as ready to obey orders as the officers. There is neither reason nor plausibility in the objection.

4. It is idle to issue a formal Proclamation that the slaves are free, when such a document can reach but few of the slaves, and can have little power to liberate them.

Answer.—Granting this now, for the sake of argument, (and I would grant it in no other manner,) such a Proclamation *would* reach, and would mightily influence, the slaveholding rebels. Let it be remembered that I am urging this movement as powerfully auxiliary to the action of our armies against the armies of the Confederacy. We know very well the superlative power and the contagious character of *panic* in a slaveholding community. We know that slaveholders are always fearful of a rising of their slaves, and that they especially dread interposition of any kind from without, in favor of those slaves. We know that our present troubles have sprung from the determination of the rebels that slavery shall grow and strengthen, instead of dwindling or even remaining stationary. Direct movement against this institution, especially movement proposing its entire eradication, would at once concentrate their energies upon its defence. And they *can* defend it only by sending their forces to occupy the many and widely separated points where it would be assailed. And this immediate recal of a large portion of the Richmond army, to defend every Southern point now occupied or threatened by our troops, is just what we need for the capture of Richmond.

5. The negroes would be useless to us. They are lazy, and will not work; they are cowardly, and will not fight.

Answer.—These conclusions also are made from insufficient premises. In the particulars of disliking hard work when they are to have no pay, and disliking to fight when the odds are overwhelmingly against them, negroes are exactly like white men. My opinion is, that they would show a further resemblance to white men, both in working and fighting, if sufficient inducements were offered them. This is the experiment yet to be tried. Let us try it.

If a small proportion of the negroes at Port Royal and Fortress Monroe have shown some indisposition both for working and fighting, it is but fair to remember that they have had very insufficient assurances of benefit from either. Even the very moderate promises made them of a small reward for their labor have been only partially fulfilled; and they really do not know, to this day, whether they are to be given up to their former masters, or to be held in some sort of bondage by the Government, or to have freedom and recognition as human beings, when the war is over. Until sufficient assurance can be given them, from some quarter, that they are no longer slaves, and no longer *exposed* to enslavement, they cannot be expected to show any special zeal for the Government, or its army, or its flag. Let that Government issue its edict in their behalf, let that army welcome them as allies, and pledge itself to their deliverance, let that flag be the assurance of *liberty* to all beneath its folds, and we shall see a very different demeanor on their part. Let the experiment be tried. It is for the President to decide whether it shall or shall not be tried.

6. Shall we excite the horrors of insurrection, of servile war, of wholesale massacre? Shall we set the blacks to cutting the throats of white men, women and children, throughout the South?

Answer.—The lies insinuated in this objection are like the slaveholding fathers who begat them, "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." The action proposed involves the very opposite of all these things, namely, a calling of such blacks as can escape from their rebel masters into our camps, to be placed under the orders of our officers, and used by them in conformity with the rules, and under the restrictions, of civilized warfare. Just so much seizure of property and just so much destruction of life as our soldiers now practise, under the orders of their officers, will be practised by the black regiments, when they shall come under the orders of the same officers, and no more.

As to revengeful retaliation on the part of the blacks at the moment of seizing their liberty, the facts that have been observed and recorded so far in the history of this struggle, the known experience of the tens of thousands who have thus far escaped from slavery to our army lines, and the new light that has been thrown by this crisis upon the peculiar traits of negro character, all show the falsehood and groundlessness of the objection above stated. In the records of Port Royal experience there are ten well-authenticated instances of cruel and brutal acts committed by fugitive masters upon slaves who refused to follow them, for every one committed by the slave against the master. And it is safe to say that such interference with slavery as I have proposed would prevent ten outrages of white against black, for every one which it caused of black against white.

Thus insufficient are the objections to such action against slavery by the President as would give direct and efficient aid towards the overthrow of the rebellion. Thus strong are the reasons for commencing such action at the present moment. If the President shall still shrink from this duty, will not the people, by strong, importunate and repeated petitions, suggest it to him, and urge it upon him? Will not, at least, every man and woman who has a friend in the present army, or among the three hundred thousand recruits now to be raised, join in sending such petitions? Join, at once, before more slaughters shall yet further reduce their number.—C. K. W.

THE PRESIDENT INSULTS THE PEOPLE.

The Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in Chester County, Pa., having sent a delegation to Washington recently, praying the President to proclaim emancipation, the President, in reply, is reported, by the New York *Tribune*, as having said:—

"If a decree of emancipation could abolish slavery, John Brown would have done the work effectually. Such a decree surely could not be more binding upon the South than the Constitution, and that cannot be enforced in that part of the country now. Would a proclamation of freedom be more effective?"

This reply from the President is an insult to an intelligent people. In it he has not given the reason—while pretending to give it—for not decreeing emancipation. He is not sincere in the utterance. This is proved in previous words from his own pen, in his extra Message, wherein he invites the South to sell—as Wendell Phillips says—and then, in connection, manifestly designs to make himself understood by the friends of freedom, as threatening the conspirators that he will take their slaves from them if they don't cease their hostilities—thus acknowledging he has the power that he might long ago have put in force, if it had been his pleasure—and so giving himself the criminal contradiction in his present sham pretension of lacking the power to enforce emancipation. It is worthy a small lawyer—it is worthy a low, intriguing politician. It is not worthy a truthful, honest man, in his rectitude, presiding over and holding the destinies of a great people, in an hour of imminent peril.

The very reason, the only reason, why he cannot enforce the Constitution in the South, is the fact that he does not proclaim emancipation. The proclamation of emancipation would make the double difference of taking from one side and adding to the other, in numerical force, equal to the number and efficiency of one half the Southern army now in the field; and, what is more than all this besides, it would be taking away from the conspirators what, and all, they are fighting for—their institution—thus destroying their motive, in addition to destroying their power. This he well knows. Why did he modify Fremont and Hunter, but to prevent emancipation—to prevent the proclamation of emancipation going into effect? With his own proclamation added to theirs, he has every reason to believe that before now the work could have been accomplished. Will some one say for him here that he made those modifications lest Kentucky should go into the conspiracy and treason? And why does Kentucky hold that terrifying rod over his humiliated head, but to prevent his issuing such a proclamation, and thus effecting emancipation? His own self-contradiction criminates him. His pretext is too shallow. He insults the people.

Who is so blind as not to see his insincerity and his unfaithfulness to his own knowledge of the truth in the case, when he would make the people believe he has no more power to enforce a decree of emancipation than John Brown had? He would make the people believe what he knows to be the reverse of the truth. He knows that John Brown was hindered by the very power which he, as the Executive of the nation, possesses for the purpose in question. I say again, then, he insults the intelligence of the people, and shamefully degrades himself, and ignominiously degrades as many of the people as submit to the scandalous insult.

If the same had been said by Abraham Lincoln at home in Illinois, it would have been of small comparative consequence. Coming from the President at Washington, it is a thousand fold more mischievous, and therefore a thousand fold more deserves rebuke. Or if the President had been settling small matters between rival petitioners for place, there would be less impropriety in our passing by unnoticed his trifling with truth and honesty. But he has in hand the gravest, the most momentous matter that can occupy a ruler standing in the highest place among the rulers of men, in a more vital and opportune crisis than has fallen to the fortune of any predecessor of his among human rulers. Is the situation too high for him? Is his head giddy on that peerless eminence? Is it addled by the annoyance of place-hunters? Then he is not qualified for his business—is not equal to the situation—is not fit for the place and the trust—and should retire.

Stopping here, and reading over the report again in the *Tribune*, I find him reported as having said—previously to saying what I have been commenting on:—

"It was a relief to be assured that the deputation were not applicants for office, for his chief trouble was from that class of persons. The next most troublesome subject was slavery."

Is this the key to his conduct? Has he not yet, during these fifteen months of internecine war, been above allowing himself to be "*chiefly* troubled" about gratifying and satisfying hungry politicians? Has "*slavery*"—the cause of all this convulsion of two continents—two hemispheres—involving bloodshed and starvation not yet computable—to say nothing of its own intrinsic atrociousness and matchless inhumanity—only found place in his attention "*next*," after he has occupied himself "*chiefly*"—at least allowed himself to be "*chiefly troubled*"—with his hungry hordes! Verily, President-making and making compensation for it are great matters! For reasons then and there rendered, I have said, on another occasion, that our Commander-in-Chief is conducting our war *politically* —not patriotically—not righteously—not morally—not manfully. Here is additional evidence of it, out of his own mouth.

The President not only insults the people—he betrays them—he sacrifices their interests to the interests of his personal flatterers—he perfidiously attends to the demands of the politicians first—the interest of the people, if they get any attention at all, come in afterward. "How long?"

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., June 27, 1862.

MAYOR WIGHTMAN vs. GOV. ANDREW.

ANDOVER, Mass., June 28th, 1862.

HON. JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN, Mayor of the city of Boston:

SIR,—I am induced to write you this from a sense of duty, for the purpose of repudiating in a most emphatic manner your gratuitous and uncalled-for advice to President Lincoln, that the Governor of Massachusetts is not authorized to speak for the loyal citizens of the State in proposing any conditions in regard to slavery as affecting a further requisition by him for volunteers. Now, sir, as one of those loyal citizens, I think the Governor of Massachusetts is as well qualified, and that it is quite as much his prerogative to speak for the loyal citizens of the State, as is the Mayor of the city of Boston, which city does not, in my humble opinion, echo the sentiment of the State with regard to emancipation. Boston could, some fifteen months ago, roll up a petition with twenty thousand signatures, to support the notorious and contemptible Crittenden resolutions; and perhaps it may even now (if we are to credit your statement in your letter to the President) do the same against emancipation and humanity; for I would ask if there is any humanity in sacrificing thousands, tens of thousands, scores of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of our young men on the battle-field to crush this inhuman rebellion, and let the rebels retain their slaves to do their work, to build their forts, and thus continue to be the strong arm of their *defence*, or rather aggression? Sir, I believe it is the avowal of sentiments such as yours, openly expressed or silently admitted, that gives essential aid to this rebellion. Let the watchword go forth, and be reiterated by every man, woman and child that can lisp the word Liberty throughout the free States, that we will not lay down our arms, or make peace on any terms but a reunion of all the Federal States on the principles of freedom and liberty for all the people, of all colors and conditions, (who by crime have not forfeited those privileges,) and I think, with Governor Andrew, that Massachusetts would respond at once to any reasonable call upon her for men or money.

You say that you believe the mingling of questions in relation to slavery, with the crushing out of the present rebellion, is viewed with the strongest feelings of disapprobation. This is an opinion of yours which I think wants more confirmation than can be obtained. What, I would ask, but Slavery caused this rebellion? and what will subdue this rebellion but the death of Slavery?—not only negro chattel slavery, but white slavery; for we of the North have been the willing servants of the Slave Power, and on us they depended, in a great degree, for aid to carry their rebellion to a successful issue. What, I would ask, are we fighting for? Is it to establish slavery on the old basis, and to bring back the rebel States with their slaves, and all the evil influence and miseries, corruption and wickedness, of the vilest system of oppression and degradation, both to master and slave, and all others who advocate or apologize for its existence or continuance, as you appear to me to do? or are we fighting for equal rights, and liberty for all? Let the Federal Government say, "Give us men to fight the battles of Freedom and Union," and not Union and Slavery, and I believe the Government may soon have an army sufficiently strong and powerful to cut the bonds and break the cruel chains of slavery, by the strong arm of the war power, which I believe, in the present state of affairs, we have a constitutional right to do. If we are to ignore the question of slavery, I believe a majority of the people of Massachusetts have but little sympathy for furnishing more men for the prosecution of the war; for while the rebel States are fighting for slavery and unlimited rule out of the Union, the Federal Government is fighting for slavery in the Union.

Sir, I think the Federal States of America, if united on the principles of freedom and justice, would stand among the nations of the earth like the lion among the beasts of the forest; but we, like the lion in the fable, have been caught in a net, the subtile net of slavery, which has paralyzed our strength, and whose complicated meshes cannot be untied, but must be cut with the sword of justice, wielded by the strong arm of the war power.

It is said nothing but a military necessity will warrant the Government in doing it. If that necessity is not already upon us, as well as a moral necessity, I think it very soon will be, in all the magnitude of its importance.

DAVID GRAY.

[☞ The foregoing letter was sent to the Boston *Journal* for publication, but the editor returned it to the author, saying, "It is quite impossible for me to find room for it." Of course, where there is no *will*, there is no *way*. The *Journal* is lacking in all the characteristics of a manly sheet.]—*Ed. Lib.*

ESSEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AND PIC-NIC.

By invitation of Elam Burnham, a meeting was held at his large and commodious barn in Hamilton, July 6th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by James N. Buffum, of Lynn, and organized by choosing Thomas Haskell, of West Gloucester, President, and Margaret E. Bennett, Secretary.

Parker Pillsbury made a few prefatory remarks. He said this was the first anti-slavery meeting in the town of Hamilton, and though the meeting-houses could not probably be obtained for such a purpose, he was happy to meet so good an audience in his native town, and in the native building of Jesus.

H. C. Wright presented the following resolutions, which were accepted for discussion:—

Whereas, a Government or Church that cannot exist without enslaving men should be destroyed; and, whereas, it is the duty of all to seek the overthrow of such institutions; therefore,

Resolved, That the American Union and Constitution, if they cannot exist and be perpetuated without slavery, should be destroyed.

Whereas, bullets may kill the tyrant, but an idea alone can kill *tyranny*; therefore,

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, our war upon slavery, to be effectual, must be a war of *ideas*, and liberty can never be made sacred and safe by a war of bullets, and the only efficient weapons of our warfare are those which appeal to the reason, the conscience and sympathy of men, rather than those whose object is to mutilate and kill their bodies.

Resolved, That the great object at which we aim, i. e., the abolition of the spirit, principle and practice of slavery, can never be accomplished by a war of bullets and bayonets.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we have nothing to do with a war waged ostensibly to support a Government and Constitution based on the practice of enslaving men.

The above resolutions having been hastily written, Parker Pillsbury proposed the reading of some which he had prepared previous to coming to the meeting, with more time for deliberation. By request of the meeting, he then read the following:—

Resolved, That war is always an evil, if not a crime, and can never be justified, unless for the removal of evils greater than itself; and, whereas, the American Union, with *chattel slavery* as an essential element, should never have been formed, therefore, any war waged merely for its restoration or continuance would be a war against justice, humanity and liberty.

Resolved, That Southern barbarism, so fearfully manifest in the present war, is largely the result of Northern teaching. The Constitution has been cheerfully made to extend, protect and perpetuate slavery. The North has furnished the school teachers for the slave States, has modified the school-book literature to suit their demand and taste, has educated their young men at its colleges, and the ministers for them at its theological seminaries,—thus supporting slavery as a State, and sanctifying it as a religious institution, basing it on both the Constitution and the Bible, welcoming slaveholding Senators to Congress and slaveholding saints to the sacramental supper; praising the "*chivalry*" of Virginia, the "*hospitality*" of South Carolina, and "*the general intelligence and virtue of our dear Southern brethren*," until it can be truly said that the South, in its intellectual, moral and spiritual culture and character, is most alarmingly but the handiwork of the North.

Resolved, therefore, That the sin and guilt of slavery, the terrible cause of our present most terrible war, must rest heavily on the North as well as the South; and though the guilty parties may shed each other's blood on a thousand battle-fields, it can be no atonement to the God of justice, nor to the millions of slaves, whose wrongs His mighty arm is now stretched out *to redress; and though* peace should be restored by conciliation at last, instead of by repentance, and the Union restored by a compromise, instead of doing justice, still, while a slave is left to lift on high his manacled hands, he shall be a swift witness against us, and a sure precursor of our final if not sudden destruction as a nation.

James N. Buffum replied to H. C. Wright's argument against a war of bullets. This Government, he said, though now engaged in mortal conflict, is nevertheless moving forward in ideas. Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia, and Henry Clay once asserted that "the District of Columbia is the keystone of the arch of slavery, and to abolish slavery there would be the commencement of entire emancipation; and to effect this work would cost twelve hundred millions of dollars." Mr. B. said—"Let this work go forward, at whatever cost of money. I welcome any bolt, whether from heaven or hell, that shall strike out this curse. I think the Indian's recipe for killing witch grass might furnish a suggestion to those who seek to destroy slavery. For certain considerations, the Indian gave this infallible method for its destruction: 'Take a hoe and dig up every vestige of root, then shake off every particle of soil or any thing that will afford it nourishment, and hang it in the sun till perfectly dry.' If every tyrant was killed, slavery would soon cease."

John Cutler, of Danvers, followed with remarks which showed his approval of war. He maintained that every thing which had been done in this world had been done by brute force.

Meeting adjourned for one hour.

Afternoon. The meeting was called to order at 1½ o'clock. H. C. Wright was the first speaker, who enforced the idea embodied in his resolutions, that bullets, although they may kill slaveholders, cannot kill slavery. The evil principle of slavery, he argued, exists in the heart of man, and can only be effectually removed by the introduction of the principle of justice to take its place.

Parker Pillsbury followed in an impressive speech. He said that politics had ripened into its legitimate fruit, war. No law of the nation was so insignificant but that, as a last resort, it must be settled by bullets. He thought war a less evil than slavery, but must insist that it be used to remove the greater evil. Abolitionists lost sight of their greatest means of power when they failed to adhere to their principles. Let us, said Mr. P., weigh well our words and actions at all times. We cannot consistently vote for a man to do what we cannot do ourselves. Men seem to be possessed with the demon of war, and a Messiah is needed to cast it out. What do we see this Government doing? After the slaughter of one hundred thousand of our men, not one State is redeemed from secession. This is a purposeless war. Three hundred thousand men are not what Gen. McClellan wants, but a purpose, a determination to stand by the right at all hazards.

The South deserves all she is receiving, but does she deserve it of us? "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Our mistake is in supposing that the South is the chief of sinners. How many vagrant slaveholders in the Carolinas would it take to make one Edward Everett or one Southside Adams? We should look at what caused slavery to be what it is. Gov. Stanley said to slaveholders, "Abraham Lincoln is your best friend. Your slaves formerly ran away, now your property is protected." Is our army much longer to receive this kind of praise? Shall we not rather accept the issue, Liberty or Slavery?

The losses of this war! In money, they are something; in life, they are something; in the goodness and purity of those who remain, they are much more.

James N. Buffum followed. He said the talk of restoring the old Union was about as sensible as it would be to try to restore the old potato that was planted after the top had blossomed. This war was inaugurated by the South, and we must have either liberty or slavery. The tendency was hopeful. Mr. Lincoln had done more than he promised, and that was doing well for a President. He told Wendell Phillips to go home, and manufacture all the anti-slavery sentiment he could, for we should need it all soon.

Mr. Pillsbury begged to correct the speaker. It was Park Godwin and not Mr. Phillips to whom the President had made that remark. And what was Park Godwin's anti-slavery?

Charles L. Remond thought Mr. Lincoln's course had been against the black men. He had ignored their *rights*. In his policy, they are either contrabands or vagrants. How did it happen that he could not put on the miserable United States uniform? If it should be proposed to strike off their heads to save their own, they would do it. This was United States anti-slavery!

Joseph Merrill said this war was a question of power; it was a contest between slaveholders and their friends—a house divided against itself. He hoped it would fall, and if it crushed slavery, God be praised, and not Republicans!

H. C. Wright said the business of Abolitionists was to kill slavery. What relation had this war to the abolition of slavery? The South was fighting for slavery; let those at the North who fight be as earnest for liberty.

Adjourned till 5½ o'clock.

Evening Sesssion. Parker Pillsbury spoke of the inaction of Congress, now the Senatorial elections are pending, as indicating that they fear to take that prompt and decided action which the crisis demands, lest it should influence those elections unfavorably to themselves. He should not endorse this war until it had a nobler object than preserving the old Union. Our work was with the people; Lincoln's hands were tied. Our army was dreadfully thinned, and now three hundred thousand more were called for, to be commanded by pro-slavery Generals. God, Mr. P. said, was not on the side of the strongest battalions, unless they were on the side of right.

H. C. Wright said the Government had no right to reënslave those once set free. By rebellion, State institutions were swept away. By law, no slaves were held in a rebel State. Will you, asked Mr. W., enslave those who, by the act of their masters, are taken from under the Constitution of the United States and made free? Surely, rebels are not citizens, and are consequently deprived of all the rights which as citizens they formerly possessed.

Mr. Pillsbury presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are justly due, and are hereby heartily and unanimously tendered, to Mr. Burnham, for his very generous hospitality and kindness extended to us on this occasion.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention be signed by the President and Secretary, and forwarded to the *Liberator*, with a respectful request for their publication.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury at the forenoon session were also adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

THOMAS HASKELL, *President.*
Margaret E. Bennett, *Secretary.*

EMANCIPATION IN THE BORDER STATES.

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO THE BORDER STATE CONGRESSMEN AND THEIR REPLIES.

The Representatives and Senators of the Border slaveholding States having, says the *National Intelligencer*, by special invitation of the President, been convened at the Executive Mansion on Saturday, 12th instant, Mr. Lincoln addressed them as follows from a written paper held in his hands:—

Gentlemen,—After the adjournment of Congress, now near, I shall have no opportunity of seeing you for several months. Believing that you of the Border States hold more power for good than any other equal number of members, I feel it a duty which I cannot justifiably waive to make this appeal to you.

I intend no reproach or complaint when I assure you that, in my opinion, if you all had voted for the resolution in the gradual emancipation message of last March, the war would now be substantially ended. And the plan therein proposed is yet one of the most potent and swift means of ending it. Let the States which are in rebellion see definitely and certainly that in no event will the States you represent ever join their proposed Confederacy, and they cannot much longer maintain the contest. But you cannot divest them of their hope to ultimately have you with them, so long as you show a determination to perpetuate the institution within your own States. Beat them at elections, as you have overwhelmingly done, and, nothing daunted, they still claim you as their own. You and I know what the lever of their power is. Break that lever before their faces, and they can shake you no more forever.

Most of you have treated me with kindness and consideration, and I trust you will not now think I improperly touch what is exclusively your own, when, for the sake of the whole country, I ask, "Can you, for your States, do better than to take the course I urge?" Discarding *punctilio* and maxims adapted to more manageable times, and looking only to the unprecedentedly stern facts of our case, can you do better in any possible event? You prefer that the constitutional relations of the States to the nation shall be practically restored without disturbance of the institution; and, if this were done, my whole duty, in this respect, under the Constitution and my oath of office, would be performed. But it is not done, and we are trying to accomplish it by war. The incidents of the war cannot be avoided. If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. How much better for you and for your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be wholly lost in any other event! How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war! How much better to do it while we can, lest the war ere long render us pecuniarily unable to do it! How much better for you, as seller, and the nation, as buyer, to sell out and buy out that without which the war could never have been, than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it, in cutting one another's throats!

I do not speak of emancipation at once, but of a decision at once to emancipate gradually. Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply and in abundance; and when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go.

I am pressed with a difficulty not yet mentioned—one which threatens division among those who, united, are none too strong. An instance of it is known to you. Gen. Hunter is an honest man. He was, and I hope still is, my friend. I valued him none the less for his agreeing with me in the general wish that all men everywhere could be freed. He proclaimed all men free within certain States, and I repudiated the proclamation. He expected more good and less harm from the measure than I could believe would follow. Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point.

Upon these considerations I have again begged your attention to the Message of March last. Before leaving the Capitol, consider and discuss it among yourselves. You are patriots and statesmen, and as such I pray you consider this proposition; and at the least commend it to the consideration of your States and people. As you would perpetuate popular government for the best people in the world, I beseech you that you do in no wise omit this. Our common country is in great peril, demanding the loftiest views and boldest action to bring a speedy relief. Once relieved, its form of government is saved to the world; its beloved history and cherished memories are vindicated, and its happy future fully assured and rendered inconceivably grand. To you, more than to any others, the privilege is given to assure that happiness and swell that grandeur, and to link your own names therewith forever.

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At the conclusion of these remarks, some conversation was had between the President and several members of the delegations from the Border States, in which it was represented that these States could not be expected to move in so great a matter as that brought to their notice in the foregoing address, while as yet the Congress had taken no step beyond the passage of a resolution, expressive rather of a sentiment than presenting a substantial and reliable basis of action.

The President acknowledged the force of this view, and admitted that the Border States were entitled to expect a substantial pledge of pecuniary aid as the condition of taking into consideration a proposition so important in its relations to their social system.

It was further represented in the Conference, that the people of the Border States were interested in knowing the great importance which the President attached to the policy in question, while it was equally due to the country, to the President and to themselves, that the Representatives of the Border Slaveholding States should publicly announce the motives under which they were called to act, and the considerations of public policy urged upon them and their constituents by the President.

With a view to such a statement of their position, the members thus addressed met in council to deliberate on the reply they should make to the President, and, as the result of a comparison of opinions among themselves, they determined upon the adoption of a majority and a minority answer.

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THE REPLY OF THE MAJORITY.

The following paper was sent to the President on Thursday, signed by the majority of the Representatives from the Border Slaveholding States:—

Washington, July 14, 1862.

To the President:

The undersigned, representatives of Kentucky, Virginia, Missouri and Maryland, in the two Houses of Congress, have listened to your address with the profound sensibility naturally inspired by the high source from which it emanates, the earnestness which marked its delivery, and the overwhelming importance of the subject of which it treats. We have given it a most respectful consideration, and now lay before you our response. We regret that want of time has not permitted us to make it more perfect.

We have not been wanting, Mr. President, in respect to you, and in devotion to the Constitution and the Union. We have not been indifferent to the great difficulties surrounding you, compared with which all former national troubles have been but as the summer cloud; and we have freely given you our sympathy and support. Repudiating the dangerous heresies of the Secessionists, we believed, with you, that the war on their part is aggressive and wicked, and the objects for which it was to be prosecuted on ours, defined by your Message at the opening of the present Congress, to be such as all good men should approve, we have not hesitated to vote all supplies necessary to carry it on vigorously. We have voted all the men and money you have asked for, and even more; we have imposed onerous taxes on our people, and they are paying them with cheerfulness and alacrity; we have encouraged enlistments, and sent to the field many of our best men; and some of our number have offered their persons to the enemy as pledges of their sincerity and devotion to the country. We have done all this under the most discouraging circumstances, and in the face of measures most distasteful to us, and injurious to the interests we represent, and in the hearing of doctrines avowed by those who claim to be your friends, most abhorrent to us and our constituents. But, for all this, we have never faltered, nor shall we as long as we have a Constitution to defend and a government which protects us. And we are ready for renewed efforts, and even greater sacrifices, yea, any sacrifice, when we are satisfied it is required to preserve our admirable form of government and the priceless blessings of constitutional liberty.

A few of our number voted for the resolution recommended by your Message of the 6th of March last, the greater portion of us did not, and we will briefly state the prominent reasons which influenced our action.

In the first place, it proposed a radical change of our social system, and was hurried through both houses with undue haste, without reasonable time for consideration and debate, and with no time at all for consultation with our constituents, whose interests it deeply involved. It seemed like an interference by this Government with a question which peculiarly and exclusively belonged to our respective States, on which they had not sought advice or solicited aid. Many of us doubted the constitutional power of this Government to make appropriations of money for the object designated, and all of us thought our finances were in no condition to bear the immense outlay which its adoption and faithful execution would impose upon the national Treasury. If we pause but a moment to think of the debt its acceptance would have entailed, we are appalled by its magnitude. The proposition was addressed to all the States, and embraced the whole number of slaves. According to the census of 1860, there were nearly four millions slaves in the country; from natural increase they exceed that number now. At even the low average of three hundred dollars, the price fixed by the emancipation act for the slaves of this District, and greatly below their real worth, their value runs up to the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions of dollars; and if to that we add the cost of deportation and colonization, at one hundred dollars each, which is but a fraction more than is actually paid by the Maryland Colonization Society, we have four hundred millions more! We were not willing to impose a tax on our people sufficient to pay the interest on that sum, in addition to the vast and daily increasing debt already fixed upon them by the exigencies of the war; and, if we had been willing, the country could not bear it. Stated in this form, the proposition is nothing less than the deportation from the country of sixteen hundred million dollars' worth of producing labor, and the substitution in its place of an interest-bearing debt of the same amount!

But, if we are told that it was expected that only the States we represent would accept the proposition, we respectfully submit that even then it involves a sum too great for the financial ability of this government at this time. According to the census of 1860—

	Slaves.
Kentucky had - - - - -	225,490
Maryland, - - - - - -	87,188
Virginia, - - - - - -	490,887
Delaware, - - - - - -	1,798
Missouri, - - - - - -	114,965
Tennessee, - - - - - -	275,784
Making in the whole, - -	1,196,112
At the same rate of valuation these would amount to - - - - -	$358,833,600
Add for deportation and colonization $100 each - - - - - - -	119,244,532
And we have the enormous sum of	$478,078,133

We did not feel that we should be justified in voting for a measure which, if carried out, would add this vast amount to our public debt at a moment when the Treasury was reeling under the enormous expenditures of the war.

Again, it seemed to us that this resolution was but the annunciation of a sentiment which could not or was not likely to be reduced to an actual, tangible proposition. No movement was then made to provide and appropriate the funds required to carry it into effect; and we were not encouraged to believe that funds would be provided. And our belief has been fully justified by subsequent events. Not to mention other circumstances, it is quite sufficient for our purpose to bring to your notice the fact, that while this resolution was under consideration in the Senate, our colleague, the Senator from Kentucky, moved an amendment appropriating $500,000 to the object therein designated, and it was voted down with great unanimity. What confidence, then, could we reasonably feel that if we committed ourselves to the policy it proposed, our constituents would reap the fruits of the promise held out; and on what ground could we, as fair men, approach them and challenge their support?

The right to hold slaves is a right appertaining to all the States of this Union. They have the right to cherish or abolish the institution as their tastes or their interest may prompt, and no one is authorized to question the right or limit its enjoyment. And no one has more clearly affirmed that right than you have. Your inaugural address does you great honor in this respect, and inspired the country with confidence in your fairness and respect for the law. Our States are in the enjoyment of that right. We do not feel called on to defend the institution, or to affirm that it is one which ought to be cherished; perhaps if we were to make the attempt, we might find that we differ even among ourselves. It is enough for our purpose to know that it is a right; and so knowing, we did not see why we should now be expected to yield it. We had contributed our full share to relieve the country at this terrible crisis, we had done as much as had been required of others, in like circumstances, and we did not see why sacrifices should be expected of us from which others, no more loyal, were exempt. Nor could we see what good the nation would derive from it. Such a sacrifice submitted to by us would not have strengthened the arm of this government or weakened that of the enemy. It was not necessary as a pledge of our loyalty, for that had been manifested beyond a reasonable doubt, in every form and at every place possible. There was not the remotest probability that the States we represent would join in the rebellion, nor is there now; or of their electing to go with the Southern section in the event of a recognition of the independence of any part of the disaffected region. Our States are fixed unalterably in their resolution to adhere to and support the Union; they see no safety for themselves and no hope for constitutional liberty but by its preservation. They will, under no circumstances, consent to its dissolution, and we do them no more than justice when we assure you that while the war is conducted to prevent that deplorable catastrophe, they will sustain it as long as they can muster a man or command a dollar. Nor will they ever consent, in any event, to unite with the Southern Confederacy. The bitter fruits of the peculiar doctrines of that region will forever prevent them from placing their security and happiness in the custody of an association which has incorporated in its organic law the seeds of its own destruction.

We cannot admit, Mr. President, that if we had voted for the resolution in the Emancipation Message of March last, the war would now be substantially ended. We are unable to see how our action in this particular has given, or could give, encouragement to the rebellion. The resolution has passed; and if there be virtue in it, it will be quite as efficacious as if we had voted for it. We have no power to bind our States in this respect by our votes here, and whether we had voted the one way or the other, they are in the same condition of freedom to accept or reject its provisions. No, sir, the war has not been prolonged or hindered by our action on this or any other measure. We must look for other causes for that lamented fact. We think there is not much difficulty, not much uncertainty, in pointing out others far more probable and potent in their agencies to that end.

The rebellion derives its strength from the union of all classes in the insurgent States; and while that union lasts, the war will never end until they are utterly exhausted. We know that at the inception of these troubles Southern society was divided, and that a large portion, perhaps a majority, were opposed to secession. Now the great mass of Southern people are united. To discover why they are so, we must glance at Southern society, and notice the classes into which it has been divided, and which still distinguish it. They are in arms, but not for the same objects; they are moved to a common end, but by different and inconsistent reasons. The leaders, which comprehends what was previously known as the State Rights party, and is much the lesser class, seek to break down national independence and set up State domination. With them it is a war against nationality. The other class is fighting, as it supposes, to maintain and preserve its rights of property and domestic safety, which it has been made to believe are assailed by this government. This latter class are not disunionists *per se*; they are so only because they have been made to believe that this administration is inimical to their rights, and is making war on their domestic institutions. As long as these two classes act together, they will never assent to peace. The policy, then, to be pursued is obvious. The former class will never be reconciled, but the latter may be. Remove their apprehensions. Satisfy them that no harm is intended to them and their institutions; that this government is not making war on their rights of property, but is simply defending its legitimate authority, and they will gladly return to their allegiance as soon as the pressure of military dominion imposed by the Confederate authorities is removed from them.

Twelve months ago both houses of Congress, adopting the spirit of your message, then but recently sent in, declared with singular unanimity the objects of the war, and the country instantly bounded to your side to assist you in carrying it on. If the spirit of that resolution had been adhered to, we are confident that we should before now have seen the end of this deplorable conflict. But what have we seen? In both houses of Congress we have heard doctrines subversive of the principles of the Constitution, and seen measure after measure founded in substance on those doctrines proposed and carried through, which can have no other effect than to distract and divide loyal men, and exasperate and drive still further from us and their duty the people of the rebellious States. Military officers, following these bad examples, have stepped beyond the just limits of their authority in the same direction, until in several instances you have felt the necessity of interfering to arrest them. And even the passage of the resolution to which you refer has been ostentatiously proclaimed as the triumph of a principle which the people of the Southern States regard as ruinous to them. The effect of these measures was foretold, and may now be seen in the indurated state of Southern feeling.

To these causes, Mr. President, and not to our omission to vote for the resolution recommended by you, we solemnly believe we are to attribute the terrible earnestness of those in arms against the government, and the continuance of the war. Nor do we (permit us to say, Mr. President, with all respect for you,) agree that the institution of slavery is "the lever of their power," but we are of opinion that "the lever of their power" is the apprehension that the powers of a common government, created for common and equal protection to the interests of all, will be wielded against the institutions of the Southern States.

There is one other idea in your address we feel called upon to notice. After stating the fact of your repudiation of General Hunter's proclamation, you add:—

"Yet, in repudiating it, I gave dissatisfaction, if not offence, to many whose support the country cannot afford to lose. And this is not the end of it. The pressure in this direction is still upon me, and is increasing. By conceding what I now ask, you can relieve me, and, much more, can relieve the country in this important point."

We have anxiously looked into this passage to discover its true import, but we are yet in painful uncertainty. How can we, by conceding what you now ask, relieve you and the country from the increasing pressure to which you refer? We will not allow ourselves to think that the proposition is, that we consent to give up slavery, to the end that the Hunter proclamation may be let loose on the Southern people, for it is too well known that we would not be parties to any such measure, and we have too much respect for you to imagine you would propose it. Can it mean that by sacrificing our interest in slavery, we appease the spirit that controls that pressure, cause it to be withdrawn, and rid the country of the pestilent agitation of the slavery question? We are forbidden so to think, for that spirit would not be satisfied with the liberation of 700,000 slaves, and cease its agitation, while three millions remain in bondage. Can it mean that, by abandoning slavery in our States, we are removing the pressure from you and the country, by preparing for a separation on the line of the cotton States? We are forbidden so to think, because it is known that we are, and we believe that you are, unalterably opposed to any division at all. We would prefer to think that you desire this concession as a pledge of our support, and thus enable you to withstand a pressure which weighs heavily on you and the country. Mr. President, no such sacrifice is necessary to secure our support. Confine yourself to your constitutional authority; confine your subordinates within the same limits; conduct this war solely for the purpose of restoring the Constitution to its legitimate authority; concede to each State and its loyal citizens their just rights, and we are wedded to you by indissoluble ties. Do this, Mr. President, and you touch the American heart and invigorate it with new hope. You will, as we sincerely believe, in due time restore peace to your country, lift it from despondency to a future of glory, and preserve to your countrymen, their posterity, and man, the inestimable treasure of a constitutional government.

Mr. President, we have stated with frankness and candor the reasons on which we forbore to vote for the resolution you have mentioned; but you have again presented this proposition, and appealed to us with an earnestness and eloquence which have not failed to impress us, to "consider it, and at the least to commend it to the consideration of our States and people." Thus appealed to by the Chief Magistrate of our beloved country in the hour of its greatest peril, we cannot wholly decline. We are willing to trust every question relating to their interest and happiness to the consideration and ultimate judgment of our own people. While differing from you as to the necessity of emancipating the slaves of our States as a means of putting down the rebellion, and while protesting against the propriety of any extra territorial interference to induce the people of our States to adopt any particular line of policy on a subject which peculiarly and exclusively belongs to them, yet when you and our brethren of the loyal States sincerely believe that the retention of slavery by us is an obstacle to peace and national harmony, and are willing to contribute pecuniary aid to compensate our States and people for the inconvenience produced by such a change of system, we are not unwilling that our people shall consider the propriety of putting it aside.

But we have already said that we regarded this resolution as the utterance of a sentiment, and we had no confidence that it would assume the shape of a tangible, practical proposition, which would yield the fruits of the sacrifice it required. Our people are influenced by the same want of confidence, and will not consider the proposition in its present impalpable form. The interest they are asked to give up is to them of immense importance, and they ought not to be expected even to entertain the proposal until they are assured that when they accept it, their just expectations will not be frustrated. We regard your plan as a proposition from the nation to the States to exercise an admitted constitutional right in a particular manner, and yield up a valuable interest. Before they ought to consider the proposition, it should be presented in such a tangible, practical, efficient shape as to command their confidence that its fruits are contingent only upon their acceptance. We cannot trust anything to the contingencies of future legislation. If Congress, by proper and necessary legislation, shall provide sufficient funds, and place them at your disposal to be applied by you to the payment of any of our States or the citizens thereof who shall adopt the abolishment of slavery, either gradual or immediate, as they may determine, and the expense of deportation and colonization of the liberated slaves, then will our States and people take this proposition into careful consideration, for such decision as in their judgment is demanded by their interest, their honor, a their duty to the whole country.

We have the honor to be, with great respect,

C. A. Wickliffe, *Chair'n.* Charles B. Calvert,
Garrett Davis, C. L. L. Leary,
R. Wilson, Edwin H. Webster,
J. J. Crittenden, R. Mallory,
John S. Carlile, Aaron Harding,
J. W. Crisfield, James S. Rollins,
J. S. Jackson, J. W. Menzies,
H. Grider, Thomas L. Price,
John S. Phelps, G. W. Dunlap,
Francis Thomas, Wm. A. Hall.

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THE REPLY OF THE MINORITY.

Washington, July 15, 1862.

Mr. President,—The undersigned, members of Congress from the Border States, in response to your address of Saturday last, beg leave to say that they attended a meeting on the same day the address was delivered, for the purpose of considering the same. The meeting appointed a committee to report a response to your address. That report was made on yesterday, and the action of the majority indicated clearly that the response reported, or one in substance the same, would be adopted, and presented to you.

Inasmuch as we cannot, consistently with our own sense of duty to the country, under the existing perils which surround us, concur in that response, we feel it to be due to you and to ourselves to make to you a brief and candid answer over our own signatures.

We believe that the whole power of the Government, upheld and sustained by all the influences and means of all loyal men in all sections, and of all parties, is essentially necessary to put down the rebellion, and preserve the Union and the Constitution. We understand your appeal to us to have been made for the purpose of securing this result. A very large portion of the people in the Northern States believe that slavery is the "lever-power of the rebellion." It matters not whether this belief be well-founded or not. The belief does exist, and we have to deal with things as they are, and not as we would have them be. In consequence of the existence of this belief, we understand that an immense pressure is brought to bear for the purpose of striking down this institution through the exercise of military authority. The Government cannot maintain this great struggle, if the support and influence of the men who entertain these opinions be withdrawn. Neither can the Government hope for early success, if the support of that element called "conservative" be withdrawn.

Such being the condition of things, the President appeals to the Border State men to step forward, and prove their patriotism by making the first sacrifice. No doubt, like appeals have been made to extreme men in the North to meet us half way, in order that the whole moral, political, pecuniary, and physical force of the nation may be firmly and earnestly united in one grand effort to save the Union and the Constitution.

Believing that such were the motives that prompted your address, and such the result to which it looked, we cannot reconcile it to our sense of duty, in this trying hour, to respond in a spirit of fault-finding or querulousness over the things that are past. We are not disposed to seek for the cause of present misfortunes in the errors and wrongs of others who now propose to unite with us in a common purpose. But, on the other hand, we meet your address in the spirit in which it was made, and, as loyal Americans, declare to you and to the world that there is no sacrifice that we are not ready to make to save the Government and institutions of our fathers.

That we, few of us though there may be, will permit no men, from the North or from the South, to go further than we in the accomplishment of the great work before us. That, in order to carry out these views, we will, so far as may be in our power, ask the people of the Border States, calmly, deliberately, and fairly, to consider your recommendations. We are the more emboldened to assume this position from the fact, now become history, that the leaders of the Southern rebellion have offered to abolish slavery among them as a condition to foreign intervention in favor of their independence as a nation.

If they can give up slavery to destroy the Union, we can surely ask our people to consider the question of emancipation to save the Union.

With great respect, your obedient servants,

John W. Nowell, William G. Brown,
Sam'l S. Casey, Jacob B. Blair,
George P. Fisher, W. F. Willey,
A. J. Clements,

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REPLY OF MR. MAYNARD.

House of Representatives, July 16, 1862.

Sir,—The magnitude and gravity of the proposition submitted by you to Representatives from the Slave States would naturally occasion diversity, if not contrariety, of opinion. You will not, therefore, be surprised that I have not been able to concur in view with the majority of them. This is attributable, possibly, to the fact that my State is not a Border State, properly so called, and that my immediate constituents are not yet disenthralled from the hostile arms of the Rebellion. This fact is a physical obstacle in the way of my now submitting to their consideration this or any other proposition looking to political action, especially such as, in this case, would require a change in the organic law of the State.

But do not infer that I am insensible to your appeal. I am not. You are surrounded with difficulties far greater than have embarrassed any of your predecessors. You need the support of every American citizen, and you ought to have it, active, zealous and honest. The union of every Union man to aid you in preserving the Union is the duty of the time. Differences as to policy and methods must be subordinated to the common purpose.

In looking for the causes of this Rebellion, it is natural that each section and each party should ascribe as little blame as possible to itself, and as much as possible to its opponent section and party. Possibly you and I might not agree on a comparison of our views. That there should be differences of opinion as to the best mode of conducting our military operations, and the best men to lead our armies, is equally natural. Contests on such questions weaken ourselves and strengthen our enemies. They are unprofitable, and possibly unpatriotic. Somebody must yield, or we waste our strength in a contemptible struggle among ourselves.

You appeal to the loyal men of the Slave States to sacrifice something of feeling and a great deal of interest. The sacrifices they have already made and the sufferings they have endured give the best assurance that the appeal will not have been made in vain. He who is not ready to yield all his material interests and to forego his most cherished sentiments and opinions for the preservation of his country, although he may have perilled his life on the battle-field in her defence, is but half a patriot. Among the loyal people that I represent, there are no half patriots.

Already the Rebellion has cost us much, even to our undoing; we are content, if need be, to give up the rest to suppress it. We have stood by you from the beginning of this struggle, and we mean to stand by you, God willing, till the end of it.

I did not vote for the resolution to which you allude, solely for the reason that at the time I was absent at the capital of my own State. It is right.

Should any of the Slave States think proper to terminate that institution, as several of them I understand, or at least some of their citizens propose, justice and a generous comity require that the country should interpose to aid it in lessening the burden, public and private, occasioned by so radical a change in its social and industrial relations.

I will not now speculate upon the effect, at home or abroad, of the adoption of your policy, nor inquire what action of the rebel leaders has rendered something of the kind important. Your whole administration gives the highest assurance that you are moved, not so much from a desire to see all men every where made free, as from a far higher desire to preserve free institutions for the benefit of men already free; not to make slaves freemen, but to prevent freemen from being made slaves; not to destroy an institution, which a portion of us only consider bad, but to save institutions which we all alike consider good. I am satisfied you would not ask from any of your fellow-citizens a sacrifice not, in your judgment, imperatively required by the safety of the country.

This is the spirit of your appeal, and I respond to it in the same spirit.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
HORACE MAYNARD.

To the President.

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Florence, July 22, 1862.

Dear Garrison—Considering how rapidly I spoke at Framingham, it is not strange that, in our friend Yerrinton's generally excellent report of my remarks, I find a few mistakes; the wonder being rather that they are *so* few. But I should like to make the following corrections, with your leave:—

In the sentence, about midway of the second paragraph, "These men do know something about everything except slavery, and what slavery teaches," for "teaches," read "touches."

In the last clause of that sentence, "they do not know everything which it is important they should know at this time," for "everything," read "the very thing."

In the 10th line from the end of the paragraph, in the clause ending "seeking one for him," for "him," read "themselves."

In the same line, for "not only they," read "not only by them," and insert "by" after the following "but."

In the sixth line from the end of the same paragraph, "they" should be omitted before "recognise."

Yours, truly, C. C. BURLEIGH.

Correction. In the report of the Essex County annual meeting, it was stated that the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury were accepted. It should read, they were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

☞ We ask the special attention of every reader of the *Liberator* to the very lucid and admirable speech of J. Miller McKim, on our last page, delivered in Sansom Street Hall, Philadelphia, (and the substance of it given at the Framingham Grove on the 4th of July,) concerning the condition, progress and prospects of the "contrabands" at Port Royal and Beaufort. All its statements are fully confirmed by a published letter from Gov. Saxton, and they triumphantly vindicate the capacity and character of the colored race from the foul aspersions of their enemies.

A MANIFESTO FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 11, 1862.

Ordered, That Major General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to the command of the whole land forces of the United States, as General-in-Chief, and that he repair to this capital as soon as he can with safety to the positions and operations within the department now under his special charge.

Abraham Lincoln.

[☞ We fear that this appointment, for the government, is "out of the frying-pan into the fire." It is our sober, deliberate, settled conviction, that if the four leading Generals—Halleck, McClellan, McDowell and Buell—were dismissed from the service, it would be a gain to the cause of freedom, and a heavy blow to the rebellion. We believe them to be equally untrustworthy—more in sympathy with slavery than with liberty—more disposed to prolong the war than to end it, in order to effect some new compromise for the propitiation and restoration of the Slave Power in controlling our national affairs. The President is credulous, blind and infatuated, in committing such high trusts and solemn responsibilities into the hands of these political opponents, who are only too willing to see his administration overturned.]

ORDER CONCERNING THE SEIZURE AND USE OF REBEL PROPERTY.

War Department, July 22.

Executive Order.

First. Ordered that the Military Commanders within the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, in an orderly manner, seize and use any property real or personal which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, as supplies or for other military purposes, and that while property may be destroyed for proper military objects, none shall be destroyed in wantonness or malice.

Second. That Military and Naval Commanders shall employ as laborers within and from said States so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor.

Third. That, as to both property and persons of African descent, accounts shall be kept sufficiently accurate and in detail to show the quantities and amounts, and from whom both the property and such persons shall have come, as a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases, and the several departments of this Government shall attend to and perform their appropriate parts toward the execution of these orders.

By order of the President,
(Signed) E. M. STANTON.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.

Congress, at the session just closed, has perfected more good measures than any predecessor for the last half century. Among these we reckon

The Free Homestead Act;

The prohibition of Slavery, absolutely and forever, in all the Territories of the Union;

The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia;

The Pacific Railroad Act;

The revision of the Supreme Court Judicial Districts;

The act appropriating Public Lands to the foundation and support of Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges in the several States;

The act retrenching Military Expenses and Allowances.

And, finally,

The act confiscating the property and emancipating the slaves of persistent Rebels.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

An English Estimate of Wendell Phillips.—"An English Traveller" writes from Boston to the London *Spectator*:—

"The real pillar of the abolitionist party is Wendell Phillips. Gifted with great talents, with untiring energy, and, above all, with an eloquence which in my experience I have never heard equalled, he might have risen to any height in public life; and the career open to an ordinary American of talent is higher than we at home can well realize. But, for conscience' sake, Mr. Phillips refused to enter on a career which necessitated, to say the least, an outward acquiescence in the sin of slavery. He has labored for years past, amidst ridicule and abuse and obloquy, to awaken the nation to a sense of their duty. It is difficult for an Englishman to conceive the amount of moral courage required by an American who preaches the doctrine that the cherished Constitution of Washington and Hamilton was in itself a compact with sin—an evil to be abolished. Right or wrong, you cannot deny Wendell Phillips's courage. Pro-slavery or anti-slavery, you cannot d

Poetry.

FOR THE GROVE MEETING AT FRAMINGHAM, "FOURTH OF JULY."

Beautiful Summer is smiling around us,
Earth is like Eden arrayed in its bloom;
On the fair face of Nature no shadow is resting,
In the joy of her sunlight no sadness or gloom.

Sure never a lovelier Summer smiled o'er us,
Since first by the seashore the Puritan stood,
And saw the white snow-shroud wrap hill-side and valley,
And the smoke of the wigwam rise through the lone wood!

And again we have met in this "Temple of Nature,"
This grand old Cathedral, whose dome is the sky;
Whose gates open wide to the lonely and outcast,
Where no tinsel-show glitters to dazzle the eye!

Our organ the air-harps—our minstrels the song-birds,
Whose sweet anthems rise to our "Father in Heaven:"
Ah! would that we too might join in the chorus,
And chant the blest words—Lo! the fetters are riven!

Through the war-cloud blood-stained we have seen the faint dawning,
And waited and watched for the coming of day;
And oft we have said, "Sure, the day-star is rising!"
But, alas! we beheld scarce its first beaming ray.

Our loved and our treasured—how many are lying
'Neath the green turf of June, in their lone soldier's grave!
New England's brave martyrs are counted by thousands,
From the storied Potomac to Mexico's wave!

By Albemarle's waters, in Roanoke's pine groves,
Where Newbern looks out on the river so fair,
Where the Oaks and the Pines* of Virginia are chanting
A dirge for our loved in the soft Summer air!

And still in our South-land the bondman is waiting,
And vainly imploring our North-land to aid;
And praying that he, too, may battle for freedom,
And join with the champions for contest arrayed.

How earnest and loyal, how true and devoted,
Have our slave brothers been, History's record will show;—
Through darkness and danger our armies they've guided,
And never deceived or betrayed to the foe.

Ah! would we but raise the white banner of freedom,
And say to the tyrant, "*Your vassals are free!*
All blackened with treason, ye blood-thirsty traitors,
Think not we longer shall cringe unto ye!

"We've left our dear homes on the green, sunny hill-sides—
The homes which free labor makes peaceful and blest:
We've severed each tie which so fondly hath bound us,
At the call of our country left love, peace and rest!

"We've come in our might, as the avalanche cometh,
To bury forever all treason and wrong!
Ye have taunted and scorned, ye've defied and contemned us,
And boasted that Slavery should ne'ver be o'erthrown!

"Lo! Cotton is King, ye have said!—we believed you,
And in homage we bowed to the proud despot's sway;
But we worship no longer—our idol is broken—
From our sight we have cast it forever away.

"If our life-blood must crimson the soil of the South-land,
No altar of slavery shall rise where we fall;
From our graves shall spring up the fair tree of true freedom,
And grow till its branches give shelter to all!"

If thus we would speak, then the traitors would tremble,
And feel that the dark hour of doom had drawn near;
And Oppression's death-knell, in thunder-tones sounding,
The voice of the Northmen with trembling they'd hear!

But, alas for our country! our rulers still heed not,
Though to us God now speaks as to Pharaoh of old;
Still they falter and shrink, and heed not the mandate,
"Let mine image no longer be bartered for gold!

"Let my people go free!—or the red sea of carnage
Must engulf your fair land 'neath its blood-crimsoned tide;
For ne'er till ye heed the command I have given,
Will the olive-branch wave, or the death-tide be stayed!"

Then let us arouse to the duty before us,
And earnestly, fearlessly strive for the Right;
And list to the voice that to-day is entreating—
Press onward, still guided by Truth's beaming light!

Barre, Mass., 1862. CARRIE.

* Referring to the battle of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines.

From the New York Tribune.

EMANCIPATE.

Lo! looms a morning long foretold!
It dawns in blood-bedabbled gold,
'Mid awe, and shame, and prayer, and wonder,
And fire, and rage, and death, and thunder;
The morn that ends a night more dread
Than that whose break showed Misraim's dead,
And twice ten thousand quenchless rays,
In awful, unresisted blaze,
Write broad above day's burning gate,
EMANCIPATE! EMANCIPATE!!

The day is here! The hour is high!
This, *this* must be our battle-cry!
None else avails, nor ought, nor can,
While manhood is denied to man!
God wills it from eternal years,
We learn it slow, through stripes and tears;
But learn at last, or learn we must,
In deeper agony and dust,
God's mandate to our guilty State,
EMANCIPATE! EMANCIPATE!!

Deep from ten thousand thousand hearts
The gathering echo swells and starts!
Hearts whose best life is wrung and riven;
Hearts whose best blood like rain is given;
Hearts wise by all the woes they feel;
Hearts true as trebly-tempered steel;
They gave their bravest, day by day,
To worse than Juggernaut a prey;
And now they cry, in holy hate,
EMANCIPATE! EMANCIPATE!!

Down with the wretch who dares withstand
This sole salvation of our land!
Who dares, what time her cannon roar,
What time her veins their life-blood pour,
To shield, through all her mortal strife,
The Hydra that assaults her life!
Contemns the aid Heaven long since chose,
And foils his country, not her foes!
Down with the wretch! or small or great!
EMANCIPATE! EMANCIPATE!!

Dare to do right because 'tis right!
Dare to be read by God's own sight!
Count not false friends, nor treacherous foes!
Who smites with God what powers oppose?
Strike he who dare! Strike he who can!
A blow with heaven! A blow for man!
Strike grandly in this hour sublime
A blow to ring through endless time!
Strike! for the listening ages wait!
EMANCIPATE! EMANCIPATE!! G. L. T.

From the Boston Christian Register.

OUTWARD CONQUESTS NOT ENOUGH.

'Tis not enough to overcome with arms,—
These may the body, not the mind, subdue:
A mightier foe within the spirit harms
Than that the armed warrior ever knew.
Here Ignorance and Error still prolong
Their ancient rule, and dread the coming light;
And joined with them Ambition, Pride and Wrong
Muster their hosts, and, leagued with darkness, fight.
These not by carnal weapons are o'erthrown,
But by the power of light and truth and love,—
Weapons the warrior's hands have never known,
Sent from the armory of God above,—
Boldness to speak the quick and powerful Word,
That sharper is than his two-edged sword! J. V.

The gloomiest day hath gleams of light,
The darkest wave hath bright foam near it,
And twinkles through the cloudiest night
Some solitary star to cheer it.

The Liberator.

THE FREED MEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

ADDRESS OF MR. J. M. McKIM,

At Sansom Hall, Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening, the 9th instant, to an audience invited by the Port Royal Relief Committee—Stephen Colwell, Esq., in the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I am here to-night at the request of my friends and co-adjutors of the Port Royal Relief Committee, to give some account of a recent visit which, at their instance, I have been paying to the Sea Islands of South Carolina. My mission was one of observation and inquiry,—its object being to obtain accurate information as to the condition and wants of the liberated blacks, and the progress and promise of the free-labor experiment there being made.

Before proceeding with my account, it may be proper for me to make a few preliminary statements, for the benefit of such—if such there be here—as may not have given this subject their particular attention. The successful bombardment by our fleet, under Commodore Dupont, of the two rebel forts at Port Royal, put our forces in possession of all, or nearly all, that rich and fertile portion of the Palmetto State known as the Sea Islands. At the approach of our soldiers, the planters fled to the main, carrying with them all the property they could, including as many of their slaves, especially their house servants, as they could induce or compel to accompany them.

They left behind them, however, nearly 10,000 of their plantation slaves, a large proportion of whom were aged, infirm and children. They left, also, considerable stores of corn, and still more considerable quantities of cotton. Of the latter, most was ungathered and on the stalk. The negroes showed themselves so loyal and friendly, and in all respects so well disposed, that our government concluded to employ them, at wages, in harvesting the cotton, and baling it for market. The wages that were promised, though moderate, were nominally—that is, in the intentions of the government—all-sufficient; but when they were disbursed in store goods at exorbitant rates, by selfish and sordid agents, they amounted to but a meagre pittance. Some of these cotton agents were honorable and upright men; others were base and unscrupulous. Nevertheless, the blacks worked industriously, and were content. As the result of their labor, upwards of 1,100,000 pounds of this valuable article was shipped to New York, there to be sold for the benefit of the national treasury. Its value in dollars and cents, and that of the labor which made it available, may be estimated when I state that a lot, some six weeks ago, brought seventy-two cents a pound at auction. Since that time, the price has greatly advanced.

Encouraged by the success of this enterprise, the government—that is, Mr. Chase, by the advice of friends—resolved to try the experiment of planting a new crop. The undertaking was entrusted to Edward L. Pierce, Esq., at that time a private in the ranks of our volunteer army, at Fortress Monroe; previously a rising young lawyer at the bar of Boston. Mr. Pierce was a personal friend of Secretary Chase, and had been at one time his private secretary. He had proved his capacity for the work now confided to him by the skill and judgment with which, while at Fortress Monroe, he had organized the "contrabands" there, and turned to account their industry and labor. Constituted Special Agent of the Treasury Department, with certain powers, one of which was to organize a corps of assistants, and another to draw on a fund placed at his disposal for the purchase of seeds, implements, &c., necessary for the execution of his task, Mr. Pierce repaired to Boston, and proceeded to lay the facts of the case before his friends and the public. In a short time, assisted by a Freedmen's Association, which had been formed there, he organized a body of about fifty men and women to go to Port Royal, there to labor as superintendents and teachers; the superintendents to oversee the planting of crops and the like, and the teachers to instruct the children, and, as far as convenient, the adults in the rudiments of learning; and both to inculcate upon all habits of self-respect and self-support, and the lessons of morality and religion.

While Mr. Pierce was thus at work in Boston, Mr. French—Rev. Mansfield French—was similarly employed in New York. Mr. French had been an old friend, also, of Mr. Chase. He was earnestly devoted to the cause of freedom, and had taken a lively and active interest in the blacks at Port Royal, from the time our forces first occupied those islands. With his aid, the association at New York selected upwards of forty men and women to act as laborers in this work. In a few weeks these ladies and gentlemen—for such the chief of them were, eminently and in all respects—were on the ground and at work.

In the meantime, the attention of the people of Philadelphia was called to this subject. The statements published in the newspapers, and the appeals of General Sherman in behalf of the liberated blacks, and of Commodore Dupont also, had created a lively feeling in regard to the matter. A public meeting was called, and National Hall, as you will remember, was crowded to repletion. Bishop Potter presided, and Dr. Tyng and others addressed the meeting, setting forth in eloquent terms the pitiable condition of the liberated blacks, their destitution, moral and material, and the duty devolving on the people of the North to come to their relief. A permanent committee was appointed to raise funds, to procure food and clothes for these suffering people, and otherwise to carry out the purpose of the meeting. The committee organized, and went to work. In a short time, they raised between five and six thousand dollars in money, and a very considerable quantity of clothes, new and second-hand. With part of the money they purchased provisions—bacon, fish, and molasses—which, with some twenty or thirty boxes of clothes, they sent South with as little delay as possible. They purchased and forwarded, also, considerable quantities of new material for men's and women's wear, and thread, needles, thimbles, and the like, with which to make it up. At the same time, they sent a lady from this city to superintend the distribution of these supplies. Or, rather, a lady of this city voluntarily, and from her own deep interest in the cause, went, and there, at Port Royal, assumed the onerous task of distributing, by gift and sale, these contributions of Philadelphia charity. Soon were received in return the most grateful acknowledgments from Mr. Pierce and his coadjutors. The supplies had been most timely, and had done great good. They had fed the hungry, clothed the naked, cheered the hearts of the blacks, and strengthened the hands of their white friends.

The Committee, of course, were encouraged. They desired to continue and to increase their gifts, but they needed more accurate information. None of them had ever been at Port Royal, nor had any of them any personal knowledge in regard to what was most needed. The people of New York and Boston were better informed. Some from both of these cities had been on the ground. It was deemed important that one of our number should also go, and in person make himself thoroughly acquainted with the position of affairs. And because others more competent did not feel at liberty to leave their business or their duties at home, the lot fell upon me. Accompanied by my daughter, I left New York in the steamer that sailed for Port Royal on the 2d of June, and returned in the Ericsson, which arrived at that city on the 28th of the same month, having been gone about four weeks. I spent between two and three weeks of this time in visiting the chief points of the principal islands. I visited and inspected plantations on St. Helena's and Ladies' Islands, and on the islands of Port Royal and Hilton Head. I also touched at Edisto and James Islands, where I had an opportunity of making some inquiries. James Island, it will be remembered, was the scene of the late disastrous engagement between the rebel troops and our forces under Gen. Benham. While gone, in pursuance of the purpose of my mission, I talked with people of all classes; with white and black, soldiers and sailors, officers and privates, abolitionists and anti-abolitionists. The result of my inquiries it is my business now to state.

As to the experiment of working the negroes by wages, and cultivating the land by free labor, I have to say that the enterprise has, thus far, in all respects, been entirely successful. This is a fact beyond the reach of cavil, and will not be denied by any honest man having information sufficient to justify an opinion. It does not rest on the testimony of any one man or set of men, but on figures—arithmetical figures and statistical tables—which have been submitted to the world, and which challenge scrutiny. I allude particularly to Mr. Pierce's late report, which it is to be presumed most here have read.

The success of the experiment is seen in the fact that 14,000 acres of cotton, corn, and other provisions, are now in an advanced and satisfactory state of cultivation, needing little more than a few weeks of ordinary fair weather to ensure a liberal harvest. If our arms should encounter no disastrous reverses, and these crops should be favored with the customary alternations of sunshine and shower, Mr. Pierce will have furnished an argument against slavery which merchants on 'Change and business men will find it impossible to resist. For, remember, that this experiment has been made under the most unfavorable circumstances. It was not begun until full six weeks after the usual time of commencing to prepare for the new crop. The work, instead of beginning early in February, was not started till the last of March. Then the implements were altogether insufficient, both in number and character. There was a lack of hoes, plows, and horses to draw the plows. Then the people were reluctant to work on cotton. They were ready enough to go to work in raising corn, the value and need of which they understood, but cotton had been their old enemy; it had been the cause of all their woes. To them it meant slavery. In this reluctance they had been encouraged by our soldiers, who had advised them not to raise cotton, which they could not eat, but only corn, which would feed them, and which would be their friend in the coming winter. It required much effort to overcome this difficulty. Then the superintendents were strangers to the work. Few of them had ever seen a cotton plant outside of a green-house, and some of them knew nothing practically of any kind of agriculture. They were strangers to the country, to the people, to the usages, to the climate, to everything, and all they had to depend upon was their own good sense and good will for the work, and the good sense and coöperative good will of the blacks. These were some of the difficulties that embarrassed the enterprise; and yet, under all these discouragements, 14,000 acres of cotton, corn and potatoes have been put under successful culture. The actual work has been done by about 3800 laborers, that being the average number of able-bodied field hands out of the 10,000.

The success of this experiment is further seen in the contentment and happiness of the people. That they are content is seen from their looks. Wherever you go, you meet cheerful and happy faces. Their words corroborate the language of their looks. "Oh yes, massa, dese is good times." "Neber saw sich good times afore." "Too good to last, massa; too good to last." These are samples of the expressions we heard wherever we went. And yet these people have been and are still working for very scanty wages. Until this time, their pay has been almost wholly in promises. But they are content. They have their freedom. They have their food and clothes, and, what they value more than anything else, they have kind and sympathizing friends. There is but one alloy to their happiness, that is, their fear of 'e sesesh." They cannot divest themselves of a dread of their old masters' return. But for this, these black people would be, what their former owners falsely declared them to be, "the happiest peasantry in the world."

To get a proper idea of these people's present condition and feelings, it is only necessary to go on a Sunday to one of their churches. I availed myself of the earliest opportunity after my arrival to enjoy this privilege. On the first day of the week there all go to church, or rather to Sunday school, which is generally held in the church. During the week, children are taught (and to the number, in all the islands, of about 2500); but on Sunday people of all ages assemble, and the superintendents and others act in the capacity of teachers. On St. Helena's Island, the Baptist church, a large brick building, was the place of meeting. When I entered, though not late, the house was well filled, and the exercises had begun.

The teachers were scattered throughout the congregation, and with elementary books and large cards containing simple words were busy at work. These cards comprised such sentences as, "God is love," "Thou shalt not steal," "Fear God—walk in his ways," &c., &c. In this manner they instructed the minds of these eager and docile people in the elements of our language, while at the same time they impressed upon their hearts the lesson of morality and religion. It was a pleasing sight. The people were decorous in their behavior and tidy in their appearance. They were comfortably and even becomingly dressed, many of them wearing the clothes—frocks and jackets, &c.—that had been sent to them from Philadelphia.

Here were men and women who at home belonged to diverse and often conflicting sects, all engaged heartily and fraternally in inculcating upon their hearers the fundamental doctrines of a common religion. There stood, card in hand, with the upturned faces of a large class before him, young Mr. Parke, son of Professor Parke, of Andover; next to him, similarly occupied, stood Mr. Gannett, son of Rev. Dr. Gannett, successor to Dr. Channing. Not far off was the Rev. Mr. French, of the Methodist church; further on was Mr. Ruggles, a graduate of Yale; and near him Mr. Hooper, an alumnus of Harvard—the former a Presbyterian, the latter a Unitarian. Near by stood the two ladies who have gone out under the auspices of the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia, the one an earnest Baptist and the other a conscientious and consistent member of the church under the care of the Rev. Dr. Furness. Near them stood a young lady who was a member of no religious denomination, but who had been tenderly and conscientiously reared outside of sectarian pales, on the outskirts of liberal Quakerism. Nevertheless, her heart was as deeply interested in the work as that of any of the rest, and she as well qualified for the duty in hand. I thus specify, not to gratify curiosity, but to describe practically the character and mode of operation of the people engaged in this movement.

When the school was about to close, it was announced that there was a gentleman present from Philadelphia, who would make some remarks. "Philadelphia," it was added, "is the place from which were sent that good bacon and that nice molasses." At this the people's faces lit up with an expression of pleasure and recognition. I was glad of the opportunity to give utterance to my feelings. I told the people who I was, and what I had come for; that the people of Philadelphia were much interested in their condition; that we had heard different reports about them; that some said that the black people of South Carolina were industrious and well-disposed; willing to work if well treated, and not needing the whip. Others, that these blacks were lazy, and good for nothing, spoiled by kind treatment, and unmanageable without a master. That I had come to see what the truth was on this and other subjects, and that I was happy to say that I had a good report to carry back; one that would delight the hearts of the many friends who would be wanting to hear what I should have to say. I had been pleased to have their assurances that they thanked heartily their distant benefactors; but that there might be no mistake on this head, I wished them now to tell me, in their own words, just what to say when I should get home. "Shall I repeat what I have heard you say, that you thank them, and pray God to bless them?" "Yes sa, yes massa," came from different parts of the house. "Stand up," said one, "and speak out for yourselves." Upon this they all rose, and then followed a shower of expression. "Tell em, tank em; tell em, tank em, massa. Tell em, tank em too much. Tell em, God bless em; tell em, God Almighty bless em." "I will," said I. "The very first opportunity I get I shall deliver your message." And now, my friends—you that have contributed to this holy charity—I have only to add, that the blessings of the poor, and of them that have been ready to perish, have come upon you.

As I was leaving the house, I was met at the door by a group whose hearts had not been sufficiently relieved, and who needed further expression. Said one woman: "Tell de Philadelphy people we tank em *too much*, massa, TOO MUCH." This, by the way, is a common phrase with these people when they want to express themselves strongly. It is a sort of fourth degree of comparison, as it were—"much, more, very much, and *too much*." We heard it frequently used when they would be speaking of their contentment and gratitude. One man in the group took my hand, and said: "Tell em, tank em; tell em, God bless em;" and, as if straining for a climax, he added, in very fair English, "*Give 'em my compliments.*"

The success of this enterprise is further proved by the industry, sobriety and susceptibility to control of these people. Every day of the week, except Sunday, they were to be seen busily engaged at work. Idlers and loafers there may have been, and doubtless were, but they never fell under my observation. Mr. Wickliffe said at the anti-emancipation meeting, lately held in New York, that at Port Royal he had understood the negroes would not work, and that for every man was needed a special driver. If Mr. Wickliffe had said that black was white, or that two and two did not make four, his assertion would not have been more directly contrary to the truth.

These plantations are worked by purely voluntary labor; the driver, now called leader, having no power to force, and the superintendents having an average each of five or six plantations to oversee, which, being often miles distant, they can only attend to by occasional visits. The blacks are very tractable. A threat of the law operates like magic. A superintendent told me that a driver on one of his plantations was unruly. He reasoned with him, but the driver was obstinate. At last he said, "If you don't go to work, I will speak to the Provost Marshal, and have you arrested." The effect was instant. The man was both overawed and flattered—flattered because he had now risen to the dignity of being subject to law. He was not to be handed to the overseer for a hundred lashes, but he was to be *arrested!* The law, potent with all ignorant people, is trebly powerful with these. They are especially tractable under the management of Northern people. There is a universal feeling of admiration for and gratitude to the Northerners.

Though badly treated by some of our soldiers, officers and privates, they are discriminating, and give the "Yankees" due credit and more for all that can be claimed for us. They are especially grateful and attached to the teachers and superintendents. They think Northern "gentle people" "purtier and purtier behaved" than "secesh gentle people." For they see in these Northern gentlemen and ladies not only all the external grace of their old masters and mistresses, but superadded a genial courtesy—an easy and sympathetic condescension—which they had not dreamed of before in white people. These young scholars from Cambridge and Yale, and young merchants from Boston and New York, come into their huts, take off their hats, sit down on their benches, listen with interest to their talk, and shed tears at the recital of their wrongs. I speak literally. No man with flesh in his heart can listen without emotion to the stories they tell. These ladies visit their sick; put their soft white hands into the rough hands of the women field laborers; dress their sores, and otherwise minister to their daily wants. Such kindness, such tender and beautiful attentions, they had never before thought possible; as a consequence, the teachers and superintendents thus acting can do with these simple people just what they please.

The contrast drawn by the blacks between Northern and Southern manners is not an unjust one. Slaveholders are, as a class, essentially vulgar and ill-bred. They may be familiar with the forms of politeness, but they are without its spirit. Vulgarians may pass for a time, with their equals or superiors, for ladies and gentlemen, but when they get among those whom they regard as below them, they are sure to betray themselves. "Be pitiful, be courteous, condescend to men of low estate," are maxims of Christianity, the justice of which is acknowledged by the highest civilization. A man's behavior to his inferiors is the best test of his breeding. Tried by this, slaveholders, as a class, are essentially vulgar.

I have many facts in my note-book on this head, which, if there were time, would illustrate this point. I have scraps of the private history of leading ladies and gentlemen in Beaufort and round about, with names and circumstances, which show that the airs of superiority assumed by these people are utterly unsupported by character, and indicate that their pretensions from beginning to end are a lie and a sham.

That the present condition of these people is in favorable contrast with that under their masters is evident from their songs, which constitute a striking feature in their manifestations of character. They are a musical people. When they work in concert, as in rowing or grinding at the mill, their hands keep time to music. Their boat songs are the ones most frequently heard. The islands are made and permeated by rivers and creeks, and the boat furnishes the most common mode of locomotion.

When the negroes begin to row, they at the same time begin to sing. All their songs are in the minor key. If one chances to begin on the major, it quickly saddens, and passes into the minor. Their songs are all religious, barcaroles and all. I speak without exception. So far as I heard or was told of their singing, it was all religious. None of their songs express mirth or present joy. The only joy expressed or implied is that of hope. "Rest at last" was their general burthen. "Heaven is my home;" "Have a little patience;" "God will deliver"—these and the like were the refrains of all their ballads.

There was one which on shore we heard more than any other, and which was irresistibly touching. It was a sort of ballad, known as "Poor Rosy, Poor Gal." It is almost impossible to give an idea of the effect of this or any of their songs by a mere recital or description. They are all exceedingly simple, both in sentiment and music. Each stanza contains but a single thought, set in perhaps two or three bars of music; and yet as they sing it, in alternate recitative and chorus, with varying inflections and dramatic effect, this simple and otherwise monotonous melody will, to a musical ear and a heart susceptible of impression, have all the charm of variety. Take, for instance, a few stanzas from the dirge of "Poor Rosy." Fancy the first line sung in the major key, and the two following changed by an easy transition, and with varying inflections, into the minor, and you will have some idea of the effect:—

Poor Rosy, poor gal!
Poor—Rosy—poor—gal!
P-o-o-r R-o-s-y, p-o-o-r g-a-l!
Heaven shall be my home.

Hard trial on my way!
Hard—trial—on—my—way!
H-a-r-d t-r-i-a-l o-n m-y w-a-y!
Heaven shall be my home.

Wonder what de people want of me?
Wonder—what—de people—want—of me?
W-o-n-d-e-r w-h-a-t d-e p-e-o-p-l-e w-a-n-t o-f- me?
Heaven shall be my home.

When I talk, I talk with God!
When—I—talk—I—talk—with—God!
W-h-e-n I t-a-l-k, I t-a-l-k w-i-t-h G-o-d!
Heaven shall be my home.

I asked one of these blacks—one of the most intelligent I had met—where they got these songs. "Dey make em, sar." "How do they make them?" After a pause, evidently casting about for an explanation, he said, "I'll tell you; it's dis way: My master call me up, and order me a short peck of corn and a hundred lash. My friends see it, and is sorry for me. When dey come to de praise meeting dat night, dey sing about it. Some's very good singers, and know how; and dey work it in, work it in, you know, till dey get it right; and dat's de way." A very satisfactory explanation.

I said these songs were all in the minor key. This was a mistake. They have one that has a cheerful, and, as it sounded when I first heard it, a hilarious ring. It is a new one, made, as they said, "since secesh times." It runs thus:—

No more driver call for me,
No more driver call;
No more driver call for me—
Many a thousand die.

No more peck of corn for me,
No more peck of corn;
No more peck of corn for me—
Many a thousand die.

No more hundred lash for me,
No more hundred lash;
No more hundred lash for me—
Many a thousand die.

And so on, recounting all the incidents of slave life.

When I first heard this song, I was going up from Hilton Head to Beaufort in a boat rowed by a half-dozen men detailed from the first regiment of South Carolina volunteers. They were in fine voice and spirits, and the echoes came back from the inlets of Ladies and St. Helena with fine effect. As we passed along, we encountered a boat-load of black people rowing in the opposite direction. They were acquaintances of our oarsmen, and after the first salutation, asked what those clothes meant. Our crew were dressed in the blue blouse and pants and felt hat which constitute the uniform of the regiment. They explained—one of them adding, in a tone of laughing triumph, "We'se Uncle Sam's chil'n now, we'se Uncle Sam's chil'n; we're none of your fiel' han's." The others looked envious, and passed on. The fact that these people are thought worthy to be enlisted as soldiers adds to their self-respect.

I dwell on these songs, not as a matter of entertainment, but of instruction. They tell the whole story of these people's life and character. There is no need, after hearing them, to inquire into the history of the slave's treatment. Recitals of this kind one will hear enough of, whether he desires it or not; for these people, having now, for the first time in their lives, sympathetic listeners, pour out their hearts in narrations which nothing but flint can resist.

I ought to add, before leaving this subject, that their songs, like their talk, are couched in a barbarous, Africanized sort of English, and are sometimes quite unintelligible. In the specimens I have here given, I have not followed their pronunciation.

The success of a judicious system of free labor at the South is insured by the large development on the part of the blacks of the religious sentiment. As persons deprived of one sense acquire greater susceptibility in those that remain, so it would seem that these people, degraded in body, stunted in intellect, scarred and twisted out of shape in their muscular and mental forms of existence, have acquired additional strength in their spiritual life. Religion is universal among them. To be sure, in most cases it is a mere sentiment or habit, and not sufficient to preserve them against temptation; but in many cases it is a living and active operative principle. Their convictions are strong and their experiences vivid. They speak of "seeing God" and "hearing God" with a simplicity of faith which sounds fanatical, but which to the philosophic mind is quite consistent with reason. Their spiritual conceptions are like sight or sound; and thus it is that they are supported in their trials. God is a present refuge to them in every time of trouble. "Francis," said I to an old gray-haired man who was conning over his spelling-book, "why do you take the trouble to learn to read? You say it is hard work, and very discouraging; why do you try?" "Because, massa, I want to be satisfied; I want to read de Word of God." "But can't you know the word of God without reading it in a book?" "Yes, massa, I *do* know it, I know it *here!*" striking himself on the breast; "but I want to read it for myself." I had asked the same question of an elderly woman, on the Sunday previous, at Sunday school. She was one of those spiritual-faced ones whom you will sometimes find among the most illiterate. Her countenance told a story of suffering and of triumph. "Tamar," said I, "why, at your age, do you take so much trouble to learn to read?" "Because I want to read de Word of de Lord." "But can't you know the word of the Lord without reading it?" "Yes, massa, I can *hear* it, but I want to *read* it." "How can you *hear* it?" "I hear de voice *here*," laying her hand on her breast. "I have hearn it, massa." "When, Tamar, did you ever hear it?" Turning upon me her full and deep eyes, she said: "One morning, sa; one morning I went out to de woods before daylight to pray. My heart was full of sorrow: and when I was praying, de Lord spoke to me." "And what did he say, Tamar?" He said, "Tamar! all you'se sins is forgiven; you're my chile." "Well," said I, waiting for her to go on. "Den I was filled with lub and joy; my heart was full of lub for everybody." "Not for your old master too, Tamar?" "Yes, sir, for my master and eberybody." Now, who will say that this old woman had not heard the voice of God? And whose religious faith will bear a stronger test than hers?

Religion has afforded these people their only resource; they have no amusements, no diversions, no social visiting. Their children have no plays—no games whatever. The "praise-house" (prayers-house, as the hut in which they hold their meetings is called) is their only recreation. Here, as one of their songs goes, they

Sing and pray
Their souls away

in sweet forgetfulness of their wrongs.

The night after the bacon arrived from Philadelphia, the people on Pope's plantation gathered in the "praise-house," and sung and prayed till broad daylight. In the camp of the black regiment there is, I was told, a prayer-meeting in one or the other of the tents every night. I may add, in passing, that there is no better behaved set of men on Hilton Head than this same "First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers." Their appearance, in their dark blue uniform and felt hat, is picturesque. They handle the musket with as much dexterity as other new recruits, and their proficiency in marching is more rapid. Their camp is kept neat and tidy, and they compare well in all respects with others of more favored complexion. As for their military capacity and the wisdom of General Hunter in enrolling them as soldiers, I say nothing here; not for want of well-settled convictions on these points, but because these points are not embraced in the range of inquiry, the results of which it is my business here to report.

But I must hasten on. I should be glad to speak here of the relation which this movement sustains to military people and affairs in South Carolina, and of the deep interest in its success which has been taken by distinguished officers of the army and navy. I refer more particularly to General Hunter and Commodore Dupont. Both of these gentlemen—and they are in all respects gentlemen—more than can be said of many others high in military and naval command—have shown themselves philanthropists, as well as patriots, with a just sense of the honor of the country, by the care they have taken to protect and provide for the unhappy people who have been thrown upon the nation's charity.

The Port Royal Relief Committee, more deeply impressed than ever with the importance of their work, desire now to prosecute it with increased efficiency. They will be calling for funds and clothes, and superintendents for the plantations, and teachers. There will be no need hereafter to send provisions; the Government will see to that. But clothes for the aged, for the infirm, and for children, will have to come for a while yet from the charities of the people.

The able-bodied can support themselves, but they must be protected from imposition. It is contemplated by the Committee to establish a store on one of the islands, at which goods can be bought at rates covering first cost and transportation. This is deemed necessary to save these poor people from the exactions to which they are subject from the traders and sutlers, who rob them of their money, and then slander their character.

Thirty new superintendents are needed at this moment on plantations. Of these Boston will furnish ten, New York ten, and Philadelphia ought to send the other ten. General Saxton, on the part of the government, will pay these superintendents fifty dollars a month. Teachers are also wanted. These will derive their support from the Relief Committee; their pay will not be such as to make the appointment an object, as it will not exceed twenty-five dollars a month.

The qualifications needed by both superintendents and teachers are good health, good sense, and a hearty good will for the work. Of the ninety odd who went out last spring, quite a number proved incompetent. They had not gone from the right motive, nor were they of the right spirit. Some went hoping the climate would be good for their health, or from a spirit of romance, or to see a semi-tropical country with its peculiar productions, or in a spirit of sectarian religious zeal, or from some other motive not essentially unselfish, and in harmony with an all-pervading desire to be useful. Such people soon get tired; or their coadjutors get tired of them. There was a great deal of work to be done; and to them the life was one of dull and monotonous drudgery. They have consequently come home. Those that remain have a heart for the work. It is their delight. The good they do is palpable, and they have the reward in their own bosoms. More of such are needed, especially as superintendents. For this field it is not the pushing, driving, and rough-and-tumble kind of people, that are sometimes called "practical," that are most needed. The forces of chief avail here are spiritual forces, such as proceed from a heart devoted to the work, and from manners and character that inspire respect. The best educated and best bred people, other things being equal, are the best qualified for usefulness in this enterprise. The blacks have quick intuitions in these matters; and a man of coarse nature is sure to be detected. Experience at Port Royal has proved that refinement in a superintendent is all-important, both in order to commend the man to the confidence of the blacks, and the enterprise to the respect of white cavillers around, who are ever on the look-out for grounds of objections. But I will add nothing more on this point—broad as is the subject—nor on any other, at this time. The night is hot, and I have trespassed already too long on your forbearance. Thanking you for your patience, I here abruptly close my remarks.

[Mr. McKim spoke for an hour and three-quarters. He was listened to with the closest attention, and was frequently interrupted by applause. His allusions to the black regiment, and to the handsome behavior of General Hunter and Commodore Dupont toward the free labor experiment, elicited especial marks of approbation.]

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